A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Volume II

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society

Edited by John R. Commons
Ulrich B. Phillips, Eugene A. Gilmore
Helen L. Sumner, and John B. Andrews

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With preface by Richard T. Ely
and introduction by John B. Clark

Volume II

Plantation and Frontier

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PLANTATION AND FRONTIER
1649-1863

Selected, Collated, and Edited
with Introduction by
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Volume II

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Extract from a letter of Peter Fontaine, Westover, Va., March 30, 1757, printed in Ann Maury's *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York, 1853), 351, 352.

As to your second query, if enslaving our fellow creatures be a practice agreeable to Christianity, it is answered in a great measure in many treatises at home, to which I refer you. I shall only mention something of our present state here.

Like Adam we are all apt to shift off the blame from ourselves and lay it upon others, how justly in our case you may judge. The negroes, are enslaved by the negroes themselves before they are purchased by the masters of the ships who bring them here. It is to be sure at our choice whether we buy them or not, so this then is our crime, folly, or whatever you will please to call it. But, our Assembly, foreseeing the ill consequences of importing such numbers amongst us, hath often attempted to lay a duty upon them which would amount to a prohibition, such as ten or twenty pounds a head, but no Governor dare pass such a law, having instructions to the contrary from the Board of Trade at home. By this means they are forced upon us, whether we will or will not. This plainly shows the African Company hath the advantage of the colonies, and may do as it pleases with the Ministry.

Indeed, since we have been exhausted of our little

stock of cash by war, the importation has stopped; our poverty then is our best security. There is no more picking for their ravenous jaws upon bare bones, but should we begin to thrive they will be at the same again. All our taxes are now laid upon slaves and on shippers of tobacco, which they wink at while we are in danger of being torn from them, but we durst not do it in time of peace, it being looked upon as the highest presumption to lay any burden upon trade. This is our part of the grievance, but to live in Virginia without slaves is morally impossible. Before our troubles, you could not hire a servant or slave for love or money, so that unless robust enough to cut wood, to go to mill, to work at the hoe, &c., you must starve or board in some family where they both fleece and half starve you. There is no set price upon corn, wheat, and provisions, so they take advantage of the necessities of strangers, who are thus obliged to purchase some slaves and land. This of course draws us all into the original sin and curse of the country of purchasing slaves, and this is the reason we have no merchants, traders, or artificers of any sort here but what become planters in a short time.

A common laborer, white or black, if you can be so favored as to hire one, is a shilling sterling or fifteen pence currency per day; a bungling carpenter two shillings or two shillings and sixpence per day; besides diet and lodging. That is, for a lazy fellow to get wood and water, £19. 16. 3, current per annum; add to this seven or eight pounds more and you have a slave for life.

2. THE BREAKING IN OF FRESH AFRICANS

Robin, C. C. *Voyages . . . de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1807), vol. iii, 169-170, describing the process followed with new Negroes in Louisiana. Translated by the editor.

Negroes bought from the importers and carried home by the purchasers are ordinarily treated differently from the old ones. They are only gradually accustomed to work. They are made to bathe often, to take walks from time to time, and especially to dance; they are distributed in small numbers among old slaves in order to dispose them better to acquire their habits. These attentions are not usually due to sentiments of humanity. Interest requires them. It happens too often that poor masters, who have no other slaves, or are too greedy, require hard labor of these fresh negroes, exhaust them quickly, lose them by sickness and more often by grief. Often they hasten their own death; some wound themselves, others stifle themselves by drawing in the tongue so as to close the breathing passage, others take poison, or flee and perish of misery and hunger. The Africans imported into Louisiana are still more exposed to diseases than those of the other colonies [the French West Indies]. The winter bringing sharp and sudden frosts, is extremely hurtful to the negroes, especially when they are not young. They must always be covered and kept warm. The parsimony of some planters whom I could mention has cost them dear.

3. DISCIPLINE AND RIDDANCE OF REFRACTORY SLAVES

Extracts from the correspondence between Charles Manigault and his overseers on Gowrie Plantation, Chatham County, Ga. MSS. and MS. copies in the possession of Mrs. H. Jenkins, Pinopolis, S.C.

(a) Charles Manigault, Paris, France, March 1, 1847, to Mr. Haynes on Savannah River.

With regard to Jacob (whom you say is the only

disorderly one) you had best think carefully respecting him, and always keep in mind the important old plantation maxim – viz. "never to *threaten* a negro" or he will do as you & I would when at school *he will run.* But with such a one whenever things get too bad, you should take a certain opportunity, when for instance he is with the Driver in the provision room, and you at the door, with a string in your own pocket–then pull it out and order him tied–for if in such a case a negro succeeds in dodging & running from you, the annoyance is great–but having got him, if you wish to make an example of him take him down to the Savannah Jail, & give him prison discipline & by all means solitary confinement for 3 weeks, when he will be glad to get home again–but previous to his coming out let them jog his memory again, mind then and tell him that you and he are quits–that you will never dwell on old quarrels with him – that he has now a clear track before him, & all depends on himself, for he now sees how easy it is to fix "a bad disposed nigger." Then give my compliments to him & tell him that you wrote me of his conduct, & I say if he don't change for the better I'll sell him to a slave trader who will send him to New Orleans, where I have already sent several of the gang for their misconduct, or their running away for no cause. . .

(b) William Capers, Gowrie Plantation, Sept. 15, 1863, to Charles Manigault, Charleston, S.C.

Jack Savage . . . has been quite impertinent to Mr. Tapper who was fixing the Engine &c. . . & said to old Charles he had not come home to be killed up with work, his general deportment since Sunday morning indicates a disposition to run away. I have him securely confined & I advise you to sell him.

(c) William Capers, Savannah, Ga., Sept. 21, 1863, to Charles Manigault, Charleston.

Yours of 18th just to hand . . . I have described Jack Savage to a man who does not sell negroes only in this market but buys and sells away from this place. From my description of Jack he offers $1800. I will bring Jack to Savannah by Friday & put him in jail where he can be seen. Mr. Saddler, the person making the offer can deside of price offered & your approval of offer, the negro to be sent away, far from us. I have been making inquiry respecting negroe sales. They are selling here at a high price. Jack if 30 years old would bring $2500. Please inform me how to act for you at an early day. . .

P.S. [I] advise you to take $1800 for Jack. In case you conclude to take it, what must I do with the money.

(d) Same to same, Sept. 28, 1863.

I sold Jack this morning at $1800, the amount in Bank for you, it would have provoked you to have heard Jack's lies of his inability &c.

4. NEGRO LABOR SLOW AND CARELESS

"Extracts from the *Dairy of Col. Landon Carter,*" . . . published in William and Mary College *Quarterly,* vol. xiii, 159, 162, and 223.

August 16, 1771. Col. Brockenbrough came here last night. He says he never got above a bushel a day of wheat whipped out by any hand he had; and he declared that those who boast otherwise must measure chaff and all. I have spent a day at it with my overseer, and it was as much as 8 hands could produce 8 bushels.

May 23, 1772. I gave my people a holiday this day, notwithstanding my work is so backward. The drouth seems to have afflicted them, and a play day may raise their spirits. . .

September 25, 1772. There is nothing so absurd as the generality of negroes are. If in the beginning of cutting tobacco, without watching they will cut all before them, and now when there is danger of losing tobacco by the frost should it happen, they will not cut pl[an]ts really ripe because they may be thicker, just as if there was time to let it stand longer. My Jades at the Fork would not cut half that they might have done yesterday, because they thought it wd be thicker; however, I set them in today and made them cut every good plant.

5. PETTY ANNOYANCES IN USING NEGRO LABOR

Olmsted, F. L. *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1856), 44-47.

Comparison by Olmsted of conditions on a plantation near Richmond, Va., which he was then visiting (1853-1854) with those on his own farm in New York State.

SLAVE LABOR. The labor of this farm was entirely performed by slaves. I did not inquire their number, but I judged there were from twenty to forty. Their "quarters" lined the approach-road to the mansion, and were well-made and comfortable log cabins, about thirty feet long by twenty wide, and eight feet wall, with a high loft and shingle roof. Each, divided in the middle, and having a brick chimney outside the wall at each end, was intended to be occupied by two families. There were square windows, closed by wooden ports, having a single pane of glass in the center. The house-servants were neatly dressed, but the field hands wore very coarse and ragged garments.

During three hours, or more, in which I was in company with the proprietor, I do not think there were ten consecutive minutes uninterrupted by some of the slaves requiring his personal direction or assistance. He was even obliged, three times, to leave the dinner-table.

"You see," said he, smiling, as he came in the last time, "a farmer's life in this country, is no sinecure." This turning the conversation to Slavery, he observed, in answer to a remark of mine, "I only wish your philanthropists would contrive some satisfactory plan to relieve us of it; the trouble and the responsibility of properly taking care of our negroes, you may judge from what you see yourself here, is anything but enviable. But what can we do that is better? Our free negroes—and, I believe it is the same at the North as it is here—are a miserable set of vagabonds, drunken, vicious, worse off it is my honest opinion, than those who are retained in slavery. I am satisfied too, that our slaves are better off, as they are, than the majority of your free laboring classes at the North."

I expressed my doubts.

"Well, they certainly are better off than the English agricultural laborers or, I believe, those of any other Christian country. Free labor might be more profitable to us: I am inclined to think it would be. The slaves are excessively careless and wasteful, and, in various ways—which, without you lived among them, you could hardly be made to understand—subject us to very annoying losses.

"To make anything by farming, here, a man has got to live a hard life. You see how constantly I am called upon—and, often, it is about as bad at night as by day. Last night I did not sleep a wink till near morning; I am quite worn out with it, and my wife's health is failing. But I cannot rid myself of it."

OVERSEERS. I asked why he did not employ an overseer.

"Because I do not think it right to trust to such men as we have to use, if we use any, for overseers."

"Is the general character of overseers bad?"

"They are the curse of this country, sir: the worst men in the community. . . But lately, I had another sort of fellow offer–a fellow like a dancing-master, with kid gloves, and wrist-bands turned up over his coat sleeves, and all so nice, that I was almost ashamed to talk to him in my old coat and slouched hat. Half a bushel of recommendations he had with him, too. Well, he was not the man for me–not half the gentleman, with all his airs, that Ned here is"–(a black servant, who was bursting with suppressed laughter, behind his chair.)

"Oh, they are interesting creatures, sir," he continued, "and, with all their faults, have many beautiful traits. I can't help being attached to them and I am sure they love us." In his own case, at least, I did not doubt it; his manner towards them was paternal, familiar and kind; and they came to him like children who have been given some task, and constantly are wanting to be encouraged and guided, simply and confidently. At dinner, he frequently addressed the servant familiarly, and drew him into our conversation as if he were a family friend, better informed on some local and domestic points, than himself.

He informed me that able-bodied field-hands were hired out, in this vicinity, at the rate of one hundred dollars a year, and their board and clothing. Four able-bodied men that I have employed the last year, on my farm in New York, I pay, on an average, one hundred and five dollars each, and board them; they clothe themselves at an expense, I think, of twenty dollars a year; probably, slaves' clothing costs twice that. They constitute all the force of my farm, hired by the year (except a boy, who goes to school in Winter), and, in

my absence, have no overseer except one of themselves, whom I appoint. I pay the fair wages of the market, more than any of my neighbors, I believe, and these are no lower than the average of what I have paid for the last five years. It is difficult to measure the labor performed in a day by one, with that of the other, on account of undefined differences in the soil, and in the bulk and weight of articles operated upon. But here, I am shown tools that no man in his senses, with us, would allow a laborer, to whom he was paying wages, to be encumbered with; and the excessive weight and clumsiness of which, I would judge, would make work at least ten per cent greater than those ordinarily used with us. And I am assured that, in the careless and clumsy way they must be used by the slaves, anything lighter or less rude could not be furnished them with good economy, and that such tools as we constantly give our laborers, and find our profit in giving them, would not last out a day in a Virginia corn-field—much lighter and more free from stones though it be than ours.

So, too, when I ask why mules are so universally substituted for horses on the farm, the first reason given, and confessedly the most conclusive one, is, that horses cannot bear the treatment that they always must get from negroes; horses are always soon foundered or crippled by them, but mules will bear cudgeling, and lose a meal or two now and then, and not be materially injured, and they do not take cold or get sick if neglected or overworked. But I do not need to go further than to the window of the room in which I am writing, to see, at almost any time, treatment of cattle that would insure the immediate discharge of the driver, by almost any farmer owning them at the North. . .

6. CASES OF CHRONIC SHIRKING AND TROUBLE-MAKING

(a) Letter of John B. Lamar, Macon, Ga., to his sister, Mrs. Howell Cobb; April 27, 1846. MS. in the possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin, Athens, Ga.

Yours of the 22nd came duly to hand. With reference to the building of your negro house, I expect it would be best under all the circumstances to have it done as John proposed, let some one find all the materials & do the work at a specific price. But $250 is a high price for a negro house & unless it is to be a mighty fine negro house.

Whoever does the work ought to furnish certain specifications, such as the dimensions of the house, the number of lights &c so that you can have some means of judging if you are not paying double price.

My man Ned the carpenter is idle or nearly so at the plantation. He is fixing gates & like the idle groom in Pickwick trying to fool himself into the belief that he is doing something. But on considering his general character for intemperance & disobedience, & quarrelsomeness I have concluded it would be best to pay a little too much for the house, rather than inflict him on you at this time. While I was gone I had him in town & on returning found that he had been drunk & fighting, and misbehaving in every way, so that I have banished him to rural life. He is an eye servant. If I was with him I could have the work done soon & cheap, but I am afraid to trust him off where there is no one he fears. He is doing literally nothing at home, and sparing him would not be a cents expense as to that, but I conclude that you do not feel like being annoyed, just now, as I fear & almost know he would annoy you, by getting drunk & raising a row on the lot. I shall sell the rascal the first chance I get.

(b) Extract from a letter of Elisha Cain, overseer on Retreat Plantation, Jefferson County, Ga., to his employer, Alexander Telfair; Savannah, Ga., Nov. 4, 1833. MS. in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, trustee for the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah.

I get on Prety well with all the negroes Except Darkey she is the most troublesome one on the place Making disturbances amongst the Rest of the negroes and there is hardly any of them will Even go near the yard, she is of such a cruel disposition, not Even her sisters family. she could not stay in the yard with the girls you sent up without making an interruption with them. at length she got so high I went there and give her a moderate correction and that had a Bad affect she then threatened their lives and said that she would poison them they become alarmed and ask me permission to move to the Quarter I give them leave they have Been in the Quarter about one weeke. as I have commenced the subject I will give you a full history of my Belief of Darkey. to wit I believe her disposition as to temper is as Bad as any in the whole world I believe she is as unfaithful as any I have Ever Been acquainted with in every respect I believe she has Been more injury to you in the place where she is than two such negroes would sell for. I do not believe there is any negro on the place But would do Better than she has Ever done since I have been acquainted with her. I have tryed and done all I could to get on with her hopeing that she would mend. but I have Been disappointed in Every instant. I can not hope for the better any longer.

7. SLAVES' PURCHASE OF FREEDOM

(a) Lewis, M. G. *Journal of a West India Proprietor* (London, 1834), 399, 400. Diary of the author while on a visit to his Jamaica plantation, 1817.

May 1. This morning I signed the manumission of Nicholas Cameron, the best of my mulatto carpenters. He has been so often on the very point of getting his liberty, and still the cup was dashed from his lips, that I had promised to set him free, whenever he could procure an able negro as his substitute; although being a good workman, a single negro was by no means an adequate price in exchange. On my arrival this year I found that he had agreed to pay £150 for a female negro, and the woman was approved of by my trustee. But on enquiry it appeared that she had a child, from which she was unwilling to separate, and that her owner refused to sell the child, except at a most unreasonable price. Here then was an unsurmountable objection to my accepting her, and Nicholas was told to his great mortification, that he must look out for another substitute. The woman on her part, was determined to belong to Cornwall estate and no other: so she told her owner that if he attempted to sell her elsewhere she would make away with herself, and on his ordering her to prepare for a removal to a neighboring proprietor's she disappeared, and concealed herself so well, that for some time she was believed to have put her threats of suicide into execution. The idea of losing his £150 frightened her master so completely, that he declared himself ready to let me have the child at a fair price, as well as the mother, if ever she should be found; and her friends having conveyed this assurance to her, she thought proper to emerge from her hiding-place, and the bargain was arranged finally.

(b) Letter of Billy Proctor, a slave, to John B. Lamar, Macon, Ga.; Americus, Ga., Dec. 1, 1854. MS. in the possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin, Athens, Ga. The original is in a clear, strong handwriting, presumably Billy Proctor's own.

MR. JOHN B. LAMAR, Macon, Ga.

Sir, As my owner, Mr. Chapman has determined to dispose of all his Painters, I would prefer to have you buy me to any other man. And I am anxious to get you to do so if you will. You know me very well yourself, but as I wish you to be fully satisfied, I beg leave to refer you to Mr Nathan C. Monroe Dr. Strohecker and Mr Bogg. I am in distress at this time, and will be until I hear from you what you will do. I can be bought for $1000 – and I think that you might get me for 50 Dolls less if you try, though that is Mr Chapman's price. Now Mas John, I want to be plain and honest with you. If you will buy me I will pay you $600– per year untill this money is paid, or at any rate will pay for myself in two years. I knew nothing of this matter last night when at your house, or I would have mentioned it while there. I am fearfull that if you do not buy me, there is no telling where I may have to go, and Mr. C. wants me to go where I would be satisfied,–I promise you to serve you faithfully and I know that I am as sound and healthy as any one you can find. You will confer a great favour sir, by Granting my request, and I would be very glad to hear from you in regard to the matter at your earliest convenience.–I would rather you would not say anything to Mr. C– about this matter untill I can hear from you, for I assure you I am in great distress and trouble at this time, but if you will grant my request–you will please write me a few lines, and I will come immediately to Macon to see you. Your obedient & Humble Svt

Americus, Ga. December 1, 1854. BILLY PROCTOR

P.S. I am perfectly willing to wear round coats and striped breeches and will make you the purchase money in two years.

8. BORDER WARFARE OVER SLAVE PROPERTY

News item from New Orleans (La.) *Bee,* July 28, 1845.

The Alexandria *Western Democrat* of the 23rd. inst. contains the particulars of a strange affair which recently occurred in that neighborhood. It seems that in November last, one James Spurlock and his overseer, Wm. Norton, "run" to Texas some seventy negroes. Tempting rewards were offered for their recovery, and a young man of sanguine character and great bravery attempted the exploit, succeeded in reaching Spurlock's residence, and secured five negroes, but was pursued and his prey wrested from him, the adventurer being permitted to escape, by special grace, with a whole skin. Nothing daunted by this reverse, our hero gathered about fifteen armed men, and again proceeded to Texas, reached Spurlock's dwelling, secured fifty-six negroes, a number of horses, mules, &c., and marched directly for the Sabine. When about forty five miles from Alexandria, the party overpowered by fatigue, stopped and sunk into slumber, from which they were awakened by the whistling of bullets through the tents. All but the leader and two of his men took to their heels and fled for dear life. The Assailants numbered about 40 men. The two who stood by their leader, named McDaniel and Wilson were shot dead. The principal in the enterprise, and a young man named McGhee, who came up afterwards, succeeded in killing two of their opponents, and wounding another, and then made their retreat. The slaves were retaken and the victors started for home.

The *Western Democrat,* commenting on this affair, very properly observes: "We need not say that these proceedings are illegal and clearly unjustifiable. We know of no law by which the territory of a neighboring power can be invaded, and property forcibly wrested from the inhabitants. The parties to the transactions named, are equally guilty of a violation of all law, human and divine, and it is high time that the strong arm of Power should interpose, and put a stop to scenes that would disgrace the guerilla warfare of old Spain. We will soon return to the 'old principles,' if might be permitted to triumph over the right, or even over Injustice."

9. VARIED SIDE LIGHTS

(a) Letter of Eliza Lucas, South Carolina, Feb. 6, 1742, to Charles Pinkney, her fiancé, at Charleston, printed in *Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas* (Wormsloe, 1850).

Teaching young negroes to read.

To the Hon^{ble} C^{rs} Pinckney Feb^{y} 6th 1741-2.

Sir, I received yesterday the favour of your advice as a physician and want no arguments to convince me I should be much better for both my good friends Company. a much pleasanter prescription than Doc^{t} Meads w^{ch} I have just received. To follow my inclination at this time I must endeavor to forget that I have a Sister to instruct and a parcel of little Negroes whom I have undertaken to teach to read and instead of writing an answer bring it myself. and indeed gratitude as well as inclination obliges me to wait on Mrs. Pinckney as soon as I can but it will not be in my power till a month or two hence. Mama pays her comp^{ts} to Mrs. Pinckney and hopes she will excuse her waiting on her at this time but will not fail to do it very soon I am a very Dunce for I have not acquired the writing short hand yet with any degree of swiftness but I am

not always so for I give a very good Proof of the brightness of my Genius when I can distinguish well enough to Subscribe my Self with great Esteem, Sir, y^{r} most obed humble Serv^{t} ELIZA LUCAS.

(b) The personal equation.
Extract of a letter of James Habersham, Savannah, Ga., April 19, 1775, to the Countess of Huntingdon, London, concerning affairs on the Countess's plantation near the Bethesda Orphanage in Georgia, printed in the Georgia Historical Society *Collections,* vol. vi, 242. MS. copy in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society.

Last November I sent a fine young Fellow a Cooper to your Ladyship's Plantation to make Rice Barrels and teach two of your People that Business, and I had trouble enough to make him go there, for I do not chuse to make use of force and violence; and I have now one of my men there, to instruct and direct your Negroes how to plant, for whom I have been offered 200 Guineas, and to use his own Expression, when I told him he wou'd oblige me to go there, [he said] that I wanted to sell him *softly,* that is without his Consent and Knowledge. I perfectly understood his meaning, and assured him that I had no intention to part with him. I mention these trifling Anecdotes to evince to your Ladyship that we do not treat our Negroes as some people imagine. . .

(c) Letter of John Peck, Billingsgate (presumably in Virginia), Sept. 8, 1788, to Robert Carter of Nomoni Hall, Virginia. MS. in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, Carter Papers.
Marital arrangements.

Billingsgate, 8th Sept. 1788.

Dear Sir, Mrs. Peck is desirous to have a negro woman of yours named Franky, now at Taurus-plantation– I am willing to purchase said woman, with Blacksmith Tom her husband, & their children; & would wish that the matter might be negotiated as soon as may be convenient.

My man George Jones has a wife at Colespoint, – if you approve of the scheme, I will send him to take Tom's place until Christmas; as I want the latter to assist in moving my clover, & afterwards in building himself a house before the Winter sets in–However this is just as you please.

(d) Letter of A. R. Wright, Louisville, Ga., to Howell Cobb at Cherry Hill in the same county. MS. in the possession of Mrs. A. S. Erwin, Athens, Ga.

As my boy Reuben has formed an attachment to one of your girls & wants her for a wife this is to let you know that I am perfectly willing that he should, with your consent marry her His character is good, he is honest faithful and industrious.

(e) Lyell, Charles. *Second Visit to the United States* (New York, 1849), vol. ii, 181, describing conditions in Missouri.

A great spirit of equality was observable in the manners of the whites towards each other at New Madrid, yet with an absence of all vulgar familiarity. But what I saw and heard convinced me that the condition of the negroes is least enviable in such out-of-the-way and half-civilized districts, where there are many adventurers and uneducated settlers, who have little control over their passions, and who, when they oppress their slaves, are not checked by public opinion as in more advanced communities.

(f) *Town Gazette & Farmers' Register* (Clarksville, Tenn.), Aug. 9, 1819.

NOTICE. Whereas my negroes have been much in the habit of working at night for such persons as will employ them, to the great injury of their health and morals. I therefore forbid all persons employing them without my special permission in writing. I also forbid trading with them, buying from or selling to them,

without my written permit stating the article they may buy or sell. The law will be strictly enforced against transgressors, without respect to persons.

MORGAN BROWN.

(g) Lyell, Charles. *Second Visit to the United States* (New York, 1849), vol. ii, 72. Describing conditions at Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Slave labor expensive.

The colored domestic servants are treated with great indulgence at Tuscaloosa. One day some of them gave a supper to a large party of their friends in the house of a family which we visited, and they feasted their guests on roast turkeys, ice-creams, jellies, and cakes. Turkeys here cost only seventy-five cents, or about three shillings, the couple, prepared for the table; the price of a wild turkey, an excellent bird, is twenty-five cents, or one shilling. After calculating the interest of the money laid out in the purchase of the slaves, and the price of their food, a lawyer undertook to show me that a negro cost less than an English servant; "but, as two blacks do the work of only one white, it is a mere delusion," he said, "to imagine that their labor is not dearer." It is usual, moreover, not to exact the whole of their time for domestic duties. I found a footman, for example, working on his own account as a boot-maker at spare hours, and another getting perquisites by blacking the students' shoes.

That slave labor is more expensive than free, is an opinion which is certainly gaining ground in the higher parts of Alabama, and is now professed openly by some northerners who have settled there. One of them said to me, "Half the population of the south is employed in seeing that the other half do their work, and they who do work, accomplish half what they might do under a better system." "We can not," said another,

"raise capital enough for new cotton factories, because all our savings go to buy negroes, or, as has lately happened, to feed them, when the crop is deficient." A white bricklayer had lately gone from Tuscaloosa to serve an apprenticeship in his trade at Boston. He had been earning there 2½ dollars a day, by laying 3000 bricks daily. A southern planter, who had previously been exceedingly boastful and proud of the strength of one of his negroes (who could, in fact, carry a much greater weight than this same white bricklayer), was at first incredulous when he heard of this feat, for his pattern slave could not lay more than 1000 bricks a day.

(h) Advertisement from the *Winyaw Intelligencer* (Georgetown, S.C.), Jan. 1, 1825.

FIELD NEGROES TO HIRE. The subscriber will Hire, before the Market House, at auction, on Monday the third of January next, if fair, and if not, the first fair day after, between twenty and thirty Field Hands, with their families.

Persons who hire will be required to give notes with approved personal security, and to furnish each negro with a suit of Summer and Winter Clothes, and each of the laboring Negroes with a pair of shoes.

Dec. 18, 1824. ISAAC CARR.

X. THE SLAVE TRADE

1. THE SLAVE TRADE AS AN AGENCY FOR DISTRIBUTING LABOR

Bolingbroke, Henry. *A Voyage to the Demerary* (Philadelphia, 1813), 84-86.

The great use of selling a man by auction is this, that he is thereby beckoned immediately into the form of employment for which there is the greatest call. The carpenter, the blacksmith, outbid the planter, if their labour is most in demand. The planter outbids them, when agriculture is the thriving employment. Thus, without waiting for the lessons of observation, a man finds out at once the most productive form of industry; without paying for instruction, he is at once apprenticed to the most expedient department of labour; and he is maintained from his very arrival without any of that preliminary expenditure for food or for utensils, which a free artisan would have to incur. He is, moreover, transferred instantaneously to the country, nay to the very parish, where there was most want of such a hand; if not by his first sale, by his second, he is sure to be shifted into the most expedient station which the region affords. The difficulty of conveying information to the unlettered, is the only real obstacle to the arrangement of these migrations on a principle of personal consent. Voluntary colonists could be gotten by the myriad, did they but know the lot that awaits them.

From the moment a negro is for the first time sold by auction, it is preposterous to call him a slave. He is

become in the strict legal sense of the word a vassal. He is ascribed to the soil, and can invoke its nutritious aid, by law, during sickness, famine, or decrepitude. He has climbed a step in human society. His sale by auction has conferred not only that civil right which is represented in England by a certificate of settlement; but also a right of property over those savings, which a wise employment of his leisure never fails to bestow. He can acquire a peculium, a distinct personal property, which may serve for the purchase of his freedom, or which, if he dies unenfranchised, will descend share and share alike to his children. The proprietor lodges, feeds, clothes, supplies the luxuries of rum and tobacco, and takes the produce of nine or ten hours of labour every day. The vassal disposes of nearly fifteen hours. What British laborer pays for his shelter, his food, his raiment, and his ale-house bill, with the sacrifice of a smaller proportion of his time?

The laws of vassalage may in some rules require amendment and revision; but the system itself is a necessary step in human society, without which agriculture cannot overspread a new country. Vassalage is only a form of bartering labour directly for shelter and food, where there are not cottages to be hired, or shops at which to buy bread and meat. Unless the planter were to make, on a large scale, provision for the lodging, clothing, and feeding of as many peasants as he needs, not one of his labourers could subsist a week upon the estate. In Jamaica, they have to send over to North America for flour, to Nova Scotia for fish, and to Ireland for beef, which is to give the negroes their Christmas dinner. We are better off on the continent, and shall shortly supply many of the wants of Jamaica; but where absolute necessaries must be brought from a vast

distance, some one powerful individual must undertake the contract for the common supply, and take care to proportion it to the mass of his people. No doubt the time will come, when our population is numerous, when, instead of hucksters, we shall have stationary shop-keepers; and when the peasantry will be able to subsist on wages issued weekly. Then labour hired for a short term will supersede labour hired for life; or, as the Europeans would say, free labour will supersede vassalage. In the mean time, whatever accelerates the condensation of population, tends to bring on the European plan of payment; and whatever retards the increase of people, tends to defer the European plan of payment. The abolition of the slave trade, by putting off the increase of colonists, will needlessly delay, by half a century, the emancipation of the negro vassalry; so thoughtless, so suicidal is the policy, which would interfere with the natural course of things. Some lascars have lately been brought to Trinidad, who are intended to be let as free labourers. It will soon be found that they must adopt an owner responsible for their maintenance, when disemployed, because they cannot raise the required pledge. It will next be found, that they must leave in pawn the mass of their wages, in order to secure the overseer, who delivers out provisions and clothes, for the repayment of his advances; and thus an agreement made after the European manner, will terminate in a practical vassalage.

2. EAGERNESS OF THE DEMAND

Extract from an open letter from a citizen to the editor of the South Carolina *Gazette* (Charleston), March 2-9, 1738.

Negroes may be said to be the Bait proper for catching a Carolina Planter, as certain as Beef to catch a

Shark. How many under the Notion of 18 Months credit, have been tempted to buy more Negroes than they could possibly expect to pay in 3 Years! This is so notorious that few Inhabitants, I believe, will doubt it. I have hear'd many declare their own folly in this Particular, with a Resolution never to do so again: yet so great is the Infatuation that the many Examples of their Neighbours' Misfortunes and Danger by such Purchases do not hinder new Fools from bringing themselves to the same Difficulty.

3. CARGOES FROM AFRICA

(a) Advertisements and a news item from the Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), 1736-1737, reprinted in the Virginia *Historical Register*, vol. VI, 21, 95, and 96.

Virginia, August 9, 1736. The ship Withers is just arrived from the coast of Africa, with nearly 300 choice slaves, which are to be put up to sale at York this day, and to continue there 'till Saturday next; and at West Point on Monday, the 16th instant, and there to continue till they are sold. G. BRAXTON.

April 22, 1837. The ship Johnston of Liverpool, Capt. James Geldart, is lately arrived at York from Angola, with 490 choice young slaves. The sale of them began on Tuesday the 12th Instant, and continues at York Town by Thomas Nelson.

Williamsburg, July 22, 1737. We hear from Potownack, That a ship is lately arrived there, from London with convicts. . . Gaol distemper is said to have been on board.

(b) Advertisement from the Charleston (S.C.) *Evening Gazette*, July 11, 1785.

Just arrived in the Danish ship Gen. Keith, Captain Kopperholt, and to be sold, on Friday, the 15th instant, on board the vessel at Prioleau's wharf, a choice cargo

of windward and gold coast negroes, who have been accustomed to the planting of rice. The appearance of the negroes will sufficiently quiet a report which has been circulated of their being much infected with scurvy.

The sale to continue from day to day until the whole is disposed of.

The conditions will be moderate as possible, and will be known on the day of sale by applying on board to

A. PLEYM.

4. THE SMUGGLING SLAVE TRADE

(a) Official notice from the Louisiana *Journal* (St. Francisville), Aug. 27, 1825.

TO THE PUBLIC. Seventeen Negroes and one Mulatto, shipped at Havana as Slaves, in a vessel under the American flag, were secretly brought in the same vessel into the Mississippi on the 23d June last, and afterwards put on shore in the night between Fort St. Philip and the English Turn. On the 2d of July instant, three of those negroes were seized by the Inspector of the Revenue, on duty near that place, and secured to await the result of the prosecution now pending against the vessel. Several others of them, making in all half the number originally brought in, have since been detected in various places of concealment, and secured with the like object.

The Negroes originally from Jamaica, were transported thence to Havana (clandestinely it is believed) in September or October last. Those of them who have been taken up are generally intelligent and give a very clear account of their origin. Few persons, therefore, it is presumed, can be protected by the plea of ignorance in continuing to hold the others. But, lest any one

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should be seduced into illegal purchases, or otherwise inveigled into crime by the authorities of this outrage upon the laws, or by their agents, I think it my duty to publish this caution, to apprize them that whoever shall hold, sell, or otherwise dispose of any of those Negroes, or any other in like situation, as slaves, will be liable to a pecuniary penalty of from $1,000 to $10,000, and an imprisonment of from three to seven years.[1]

I am bound to add that on the other hand, that the Government offers a bounty $50 for every such Negro, that shall be duly delivered to the Marshal, and a moiety of the above penalty to any person who will sue for and prosecute the same to effect. JOHN W. SMITH.

Attorney of the United States, for the Eastern District of Louisiana. New Orleans, July 21, 1825.

(b) Atlanta (Ga.) *Daily Intelligencer,* March 9, 1859. News item reprinted from the Oxford (Miss.) *Mercury* of Feb. 26 and credited originally to The Vicksburg *True Southerner.*

There are four native Africans in Marshall County, the Wanderer's cargo, recently landed at Savannah and about which all the Abolitionist's under the Sun are raising such horrible shrieks about. Three of them belong to a planter living at Chulahoma, and the other to a planter near Holly Springs. They were bought in Georgia at an average of $500 apiece. Our common darkies treat them with sovereign contempt—walking around them with a decided aristocratic air. But the Africans are docile and very industrious and are represented as being perfectly delighted with their new homes and improved conditions. The stories that they are brutes and savages is all stuff and nonsense. It was put in the papers by men who do not know what they are talking about. As to their corrupting our common negroes, we venture the assertion would come nearer

[1] 6th. section, Act of Congress, April 20th, 1818, concerning the Slave Trade.

the truth if stated the other way. We understand that some of the same Wanderer slaves have reached an adjoining County where they are doing remarkably well.

5. THE INTERSTATE SLAVE TRADE

(a) Extract from an anonymous pamphlet, *A Tour in Virginia* (n.d.), 8. Observations *circa* 1808.

The Carolina slave dealers get frequent supplies from this state, particularly from the eastern shore; and never were my feelings more outraged or my notions of the freedom and liberty of my country more hurt, than by a scene which presented itself near Ellicott's–Two blanched and meagre looking wretches were lolling in their one-horse chair, protected from the excessive heat of the noon-day sun by a huge umbrella, and driving before them four beings of the African race, fastened to each other by iron chains fixed round the neck and arms, and attended by a black woman, a reliance on whose conjugal or sisterly affection, prevented the application of handcuffs or neck collars; the people on the road loaded the inhuman drivers with curses and execrations. . .

(b) Advertisement by a professional buyer in the domestic slave trade from the Chestertown (MD.) *Telegraph,* Nov. 7, 1828.

CASH FOR NEGROES. The Subscriber will give the highest price in Cash for Negroes of either sex delivered at Georgetown X Roads. Any person writing to the subscriber will be attended to. JAMES SALISBURY.

(c) Anonymous and undirected letter of a slave trader, Knoxville, Tenn., Jan. 24, 1795. MS. unsigned draft in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, DD, vol. ii, no. 53.

Knoxville, January the 24th, 1795

Sir, On the 29th December – I arrive safe at this Store after a fatieguing joiney thro the wildeness. On my arrivall home I took the Earliest opportunity to

prepare myself to Bring you the Negroes–according to promise, I shall, set out for them on wednesday next, and shall without faile be Prepared to have them at your Residence by the midle of the month of may, at all Events by the first of June–I shall Depend on you to take them. I intend to bring some others, with me for sale, if you can make any, Engagements for me, I shall ever be bound in acknoledgements, Govenor Blount is my friend and will aide me–I intend Carrying on the Business, Extensively. Your Pattronage in Kentuckey will be – Gratefulley Solicited, as to the Peticulars of this Place–you se by the Inclosed *Gazetts*–I am your Excellencyes most obediant Servent–

6. THE LOCAL SLAVE EXCHANGE

(a) Extract from a letter of George Washington to Gen. Alex. Spotswood; Philadelphia, Nov. 23, 1794, printed in the New York Public Library *Bulletin* (1898), 14, 15.

This indicates conditions and considerations promoting the sale of negroes by Virginia planters.

[After discussing Spotswood's projected sale of his lands in Virginia, to invest in Kentucky and Ohio property, Washington concludes:]

With respect to the other species of property concerning which you ask my opinion, I shall frankly declare to you that I do not like even to think, much less talk, of it. However, as you have put the question, I shall in a few words give you my ideas of it.

Were it not then that I am principled against selling negroes, as you would do cattle at a market, I would not in twelve months hence, be possessed of a single one as a slave. I shall be happily mistaken if they are not found to be a very troublesome species of property ere many years have passed over our heads (but this by the bye) – For this reason, and because there is but

little sale for what is raised in the Western country, it remains for you to consider whether their value would not be more productive in lands, reserving enough for necessary purposes, than to carry many of them there.

(b) Advertisement from the Charleston (S.C.) *City Gazette,* March 10, 1796.

FIFTY PRIME NEGROES FOR SALE. To be Sold, on Tuesday the 15th March instant, by the Subscribers, before their office near the Exchange.

About fifty prime orderly Negroes; consisting of Fellows, Wenches, Boys and Girls. This gang taken together, is perhaps as prime, complete and valuable for the number as were ever offered for sale; they are generally country born, young & able very likely; two of them capable of acting as drivers, and one of them a good jobbing carpenter. The wenches are young and improving; the boys, girls and children are remarkably smart, active and sensible: several of the wenches are fitted either for the house or plantation work; the boys and girls for trades or waiting servants. The age, descriptions and qualifications of these negroes, may be seen at the office of the Subscribers, and of Brian Cape and Son, or of Treasdale or Kiddell, merchants, in Queen-street, who can give directions to those who desire it where the negroes may be seen.

These negroes are sold free from all incumbrances, with warranted titles, and are sold on account of their present Owner's declining the Planting Business, and not for any other reason; they are not Negroes selected out of a larger gang for the purpose of a sale, but are prime, their present Owner, with great trouble and expence, selected them out of many for several years past. They were purchased for stock and breeding Negroes, and to any Planter who particularly wanted

them for that purpose, they are a very choice and desirable gang. Any Person desirous of purchasing the whole gang by private contract, may apply to Brian Cape and Son; the Terms if sold together will be made convenient to the Purchasers, and the Conditions of public sale (if not contracted for in the mean time, of which due notice will be given) will be very easy and accommodating, and which will be declared on the Day of Sale. COLCOCK & PATERSON.
March 3.

(c) Advertisement from the Charleston (S.C.) *City Gazette,* Feb. 21, 1825.

VALUABLE NEGROES FOR SALE

A Wench, complete cook, washer and ironer, and her 4 Children—a Boy 12, another 9, a Girl 5, that sews; and a Girl about 4 years old.

Another Family—a Wench, complete washer and ironer, and her Daughter, 14 years old, accustomed to the house.

A Wench, a house servant, and two male Children; one three years old, and the other 4 months.

A complete Seamstress and House Servant, with her male Child 7 years old.

Three Young Wenches, 18, 19, 21, all accustomed to house work.

A Mulatto Girl, about 17, a complete Seamstress and Waiting Maid, with her Grandmother.

Two Men, one a complete Coachman, and the other a Waiter. Apply at this Office, or at No. 19 Hasell-street. Feb 19.

7. THE JOURNEY OF A SLAVE COFFLE FROM MARYLAND TO SOUTH CAROLINA

Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man, third edition (Pittsburg, 1854), 30-85, and *passim,* relating Ball's experiences about 1805.

My new master, whose name I did not hear, took me that same day across the Patuxent, where I joined fifty-one other slaves, whom he had bought in Maryland. Thirty two of these were men and nineteen were women. The women were merely tied together with a rope, about the size of a bed cord, which was tied like a halter round the neck of each; but the men, of whom I was the stoutest and strongest, were very differently caparisoned. A strong iron collar was closely fitted by means of a padlock round each of our necks. A chain of iron about a hundred feet in length was passed through the hasp of each padlock, except at the two ends, where the hasps of the padlocks passed through a link of the chain. In addition to this, we were handcuffed in pairs, with iron staples and bolts, with a short chain about a foot long uniting the handcuffs and their wearers in pairs. In this manner, we were chained alternately by the right and left hand. . .

We were soon on the south side of the river, and taking up our line of march, we travelled about five miles that evening, and stopped for the night at one of those miserable public houses, so frequent in the lower parts of Maryland and Virginia, called "ordinaries."

Our master ordered a pot of mush to be made for our supper; after despatching which, we all lay down on the naked floor to sleep in our handcuffs and chains. The women, my fellow slaves, lay on one side of the room, and the men who were chained with me, occupied the other. Day at length came, and with the dawn, we resumed our journey towards the Potomac. . .

Before night we crossed the Potomac, at Hoe's Ferry, and bade farewell to Maryland. At night we stopped at the house of a poor gentleman, at least he appeared to wish my master to consider him a gentleman; and he had no difficulty in establishing his claim to poverty. He lived at the side of the road, in a framed house, that had never been plastered within, the weather-boards being the only wall. He had about fifty acres of land enclosed by a fence, the remains of a farm which had once covered two or three hundred acres; but the cedar bushes had encroached upon all sides, until the cultivation had been confined to its present limits. The land was the very picture of sterility, and there was neither barn nor stable on the place. The owner was ragged and his wife and children were in a similar plight. It was with difficulty that we obtained a bushel of corn which our master ordered us to parch at a fire made in the yard, and to eat for our supper. Even this miserable family possessed two slaves, half-starved, half-naked wretches, whose appearance bespoke them familiar with hunger, and victims of the lash; but there was one pang which they had not known; they had not been chained and driven from their parents or children into hopeless exile.

We left this place early in the morning, and directed our course toward the southwest; our master riding beside us, and hastening our march, sometimes by words of encouragement, and sometimes by threats of punishment. The women took their place in the rear of our line. We halted about nine o'clock for breakfast, and received as much corn bread as we could eat, together with a plate of boiled herring, and about three pounds of pork amongst us. Before we left this place, I was removed from near the middle of the chain, and

placed at the front end of it; so that I now became the leader of the file, and held this post of honor until our irons were taken from us, near the town of Columbia, in South Carolina. We continued our route, this day, along the high road between the Potomac and Rappahannock; and I several times saw each of those rivers before night. Our master gave us no dinner today, but we halted a short time before sun-down, and got as much corn mush and sour milk as we could eat, for supper. It was now the beginning of the month of May, and the weather, in the fine climate of Virginia, was very mild and pleasant; so that our master was not obliged to provide us with fire at night. . .

In Virginia, it appeared to me that the slaves were more rigorously treated than they were in my native place. It is easy to tell a man of color who is poorly fed, from one who is well supplied with food, by his personal appearance. A half starved negro is a miserable looking creature. His skin becomes dry, and appears to be sprinkled over with whitish husks, or scales; the glossiness of his face vanishes; his hair loses its color, and when stricken with a rod, the dust flies from it. These signs of bad treatment I perceived to be very common in Virginia; many young girls who would have been beautiful, if they had been allowed enough to eat, had lost all their prettiness through starvation; their fine glossy hair had become of a reddish color, and stood out round their heads, like long brown wool.

Our master at first expressed a determination to pass through the city of Richmond; but for some reason which he did not make known to us, he changed his mind, and drove us up the country, crossing the Matepony, North Anna and South Anna rivers. For several days we traversed a region, which had been de-

serted by the occupants–being no longer worth culture–and immense thickets of young red cedars now occupied the fields, in digging of which, thousands of wretched slaves, had worn out their lives in the service of merciless masters.

In some places these cedar thickets, as they are called, continued for three or four miles together, without a house to enliven the scene, and with scarcely an original forest tree, to give variety to the landscape. . .

The ground over which we had travelled since we crossed the Potomac, had generally been a strong reddish clay, with an admixture of sand, and was of the same quality with the soil of the counties of Chester, Montgomery and Bucks, in Pennsylvania. It had originally been highly fertile and productive, and had it been properly treated, would doubtlessly have continued to yield abundant and prolific crops; but the gentlemen who became the early proprietors of this fine region, supplied themselves with slaves from Africa, cleared large plantations of many thousands of acres–cultivated tobacco–and became suddenly wealthy; built spacious houses and numerous churches, such as this; but regardless of their true interest, they valued their lands less than their slaves; exhausted the kindly soil, by unremitting crops of tobacco, declined in their circumstances, and finally grew poor, upon the very fields, that had formerly made their possessors rich; abandoned one portion after another, as not worth planting any longer; and, pinched by necessity, at last sold their slaves to Georgian planters, to procure a subsistence; and when all was gone, took refuge in the wilds of Kentucky; again to act the same melancholy drama; leaving their native land to desolation and poverty. The churches then followed the fate of their

builders. The revolutionary war deprived the parsons of their legal support; and they fled from the alter which no longer maintained them. Virginia has become poor by the folly and wickedness of slavery, and dearly has she paid for the anguish and sufferings she has inflicted upon our injured, degraded and fallen race. . .

We continued our course up the country westward, for two or three days, moving at a slow pace, and at length turning south, crossed the James river, at a place about thirty miles above Richmond, as I understood at the time. We continued our journey from day to day, in a course, and by roads, which appeared to me to bear generally about South-west, for more than four weeks, in which time we entered South Carolina, and in this state, near Camden, I first saw a field of cotton in bloom. . .

If the proprietors of the soil, in Maryland and Virginia, were skilful cultivators, had their lands in good condition, and kept no more slaves on each estate, than would be sufficient to work the soil in a proper manner, and keep up the place, the condition of the colored people would not be, by any means, a comparatively unhappy one. I am convinced that in nine cases in ten, the hardships and sufferings of the colored population of lower Virginia is attributable to the poverty and distress of its owners. In many instances, an estate scarcely yields enough to feed and clothe the slaves in a comfortable manner, without allowing anything for the support of the master and family; but it is obvious that the family must first be supported, and the slaves must be content with the surplus; and this, on a poor, old, worn out tobacco plantation, is often very small, and wholly inadequate to the comfortable sustenance of

the hands, as they are called. There, in many places, nothing is allowed to the poor negro but his peck of corn per week, without the sauce of a salt herring, or even a little salt itself. . .

Early in the morning, our master called us up, and distributed to each of the party, a cake made of corn meal, and a small piece of bacon. On our journey, we had only eaten twice a day, and had not received breakfast until about nine o'clock; but he said this morning meal was given to welcome us to South Carolina. He then addressed us all, and told us we might now give up all hope of ever returning to the place of our nativity; as it would be impossible for us to pass through the States of North Carolina and Virginia, without being taken up and sent back. He further advised us to make ourselves contented; as he would take us to Georgia, a far better country than any we had seen; and where we would be able to live in the greatest abundance. About sunrise we took up our march on the road to Columbia, as we were told. Hitherto our master had not offered to sell any of us, and had even refused to stop to talk to any one on the subject of our sale, although he had several times been addressed on this point before we reached Lancaster; but soon after we departed from this village, we were overtaken on the road by a man on horseback, who accosted our driver, by asking him if his niggers were for sale. The latter replied that he believed he would not sell any yet, as he was on his way to Georgia, and cotton being now much in demand, he expected to obtain high prices for us, from persons who were going to settle in the new purchase. He, however, contrary to his custom, ordered us to stop, and told the stranger he might look at us, and that he would find us a fine lot of hands as were ever imported into the

country–that we were all prime property, and he had no doubt, would command his own prices in Georgia. . .

The landlord assured my master that at this time slaves were much in demand, both in Columbia and Augusta; that purchasers were numerous and prices good; and that the best plan of effecting good sales would be, to put up each nigger separately, at auction, after giving a few days' notice, by an advertisement in the neighboring country. Cotton, he said, had not been higher for many years, and as a great many persons especially young men, were moving off to the new purchase in Georgia, prime hands were in high demand, for the purpose of clearing the land in the new country; that the boys and girls, under twenty, would bring almost any price, at present, in Columbia, for the purpose of picking the growing crop of cotton, which promised to be very heavy; and as most persons had planted more than their hands would be able to pick, young niggers, who would soon learn to pick cotton, were prime articles in the market. . . My master said he would follow his advise, at least so far as to sell a portion of us in Carolina, but seemed to be of the opinion that his prime hands would bring him more money in Georgia, and named me in particular, as one who would be worth at least a thousand dollars to a man who was about making a settlement, and clearing a plantation in the new purchase. . .

At supper this night we had corn mush, in large wooden trays, with melted lard to dip the mush in before eating it. We might have reached Columbia this day if we had continued our march, but we stopped at least an hour before sunset, about three miles from town at the house of a man who supported the double character of planter and keeper of a house of entertain-

ment; for I learned from his slaves that their master considered it disreputable to be called a tavern-keeper, and would not put up a sign, although he received pay of such persons as lodged with him. It is the custom throughout all the slave-holding states, amongst people of fashion, never to speak of negroes as slaves, but always as servants; but I had never before met with the keeper of a public house, in the country, who had arrived at this degree of refinement. I had been accustomed to hear this order of men, and indeed the greater number of white people, speak of the people of color as niggers. We remained at this place more than two weeks; I presume because my master found it cheaper to keep us here than in town, or perhaps because he supposed we might recover from the hardships of our journey more speedily in the country. . .

We remained in this place nearly two weeks, during which time our allowance of food was not varied, and was regularly given to us. We were not required to do any work; and I had liberty and leisure to walk about the plantation, and make such observations as I could upon the new state of things around me. Gentlemen and ladies came every day to look at us, with a view of becoming our purchasers; and we were examined with minute care as to our ages, former occupations, and capacity of performing labor. Our persons were inspected, and more especially the hands were scrutinized, to see if all the fingers were perfect, and capable of the quick motions necessary in picking cotton. Our master only visited us once a day, and sometimes he remained absent two days; so that he seldom met any of those who came to see us; but, whenever it so happened that he did meet them, he laid aside his silence and became very talkative, and even animated in his conversation,

extolling our good qualities, and avering that he had purchased some of us of one colonel, and others of another general in Virginia; that he could by no means have procured us, had it not been that, in some instances, our masters had ruined themselves, and were obliged to sell us to save their families from ruin; and in others, that their owners were dead, their estates deeply in debt, and we had been sold at public sale; by which means he had become possessed of us. He said our habits were unexceptionable, our characters good, and that there was not one amongst us all who had ever been known to run away or steal anything from our former masters. I observed that running away and stealing from his master, were regarded as the highest crimes of which a slave could be guilty; but I heard no questions asked concerning our propensity to steal from other people besides our masters, and I afterwards learned that this was not always regarded as a very high crime by the owner of a slave, provided he would perpetrate the theft so adroitly as not to be detected in it.

We were severally asked by our visitors if we would be willing to live with them, if they would purchase us, to which we generally replied in the affirmative; but our owner declined all offers that were made for us, upon the ground that we were too poor—looked too bad to be sold at present—and that in our condition he could not expect to get a fair value for us. . .

8. MOTIVES FOR CHECKING THE INTERSTATE SLAVE TRADE

Letter from a citizen to the editors of the Georgia *Journal* (Milledgeville), Dec. 4, 1821.

DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE. . . The policy of prohibiting the further introduction of slaves for the purpose of speculation is so obvious, that it seems almost preposter-

ous to attempt its proof. The arguments in its support are so numerous and so strong as almost to overwhelm us. We scarcely know where to begin or where to end them. It is difficult to imagine that clearer proof than that it is inexpedient to increase an acknowledged evil. The following are some of the considerations which forbid the introduction of slaves, for the purpose of speculation. Every man knows that speculators would constantly introduce into the state the dregs of the colored population of the states north of us; that the jails of North and South Carolina, Maryland and Virginia, would be disgorged upon this deluded state. Negro speculators, many of whom would come from other states, and would fear none of the calamities they might bring on us, would naturally introduce among us negroes of the worst character, because, in many instances, they would purchase them for half price; and the villain who might attempt the assassination of his master, the rape of his mistress, or the conflagation of a city, might, in a few days, be transported to Georgia, and sold to an unsuspecting citizen, for the hard earnings of his honest labor. To the dealer in human flesh, it will be a matter of little consequence, if the next day he perpetrated any or all those crimes.

But not only would speculators constantly introduce firebrands among our colored people; but they would, in very many instances, inveigle and run off slaves of our fellow citizens north of us; they would by fraud and violence, tear from the dearest associations and sell among us persons as much entitled to personal liberty by the laws of the land as the reader who kindly gives me his attention, while I endeavor to show him the magnitude of one of the greatest calamities which would afflict this state; I mean, an unrestricted domes-

tic slave trade! It is perhaps needless to detail instances of the stealing of negroes, bond and free which might easily be cited: The reader's memory will easily supply them; as well as some notable instances in which men from the South have expiated these offenses by the most ignominous punishments in the North; thus casting the blackness of their character on the section of the country to which they belong.

Who sees not the progress of society? Who sees not the spirit of the age? Can any one be insensible of the increasing disposition of Virginia, Maryland, and some other states, to throw off their colored population? When they have made any considerable advance towards this object, would they not assume the tone of the northern states? Will they not join in the imposition of "restrictions" upon the slaveholding states? May they not promote abolition in the South? Insensible as they may become in process of time, to the difficulties and dangers of the south, May they not pursue the course of conduct tending to produce a state of things too horrible to contemplate? It is clearly incumbent on Georgia to persevere in her countervailing policy–it is clearly incumbent on her to refuse to receive in her bosom the colored population of states, who, after relieving themselves of the greatest weight oppressing them, may, at some remote period, join in a general crusade against the South. We should forbear to increase the aggregate amount of investment in property, which, by the process of society, by the operations of the spirit which has evidently gone abroad in Christendom, may become not only worthless, but dangerous. Nor ought it to destroy the force of this reasoning, that these consequences may remote: He who confines his views to the present moment–he who endeavors not to

avert from future generations the calamities which threaten them, is alike unworthy of the name of a parent, and of a politician.

Late discussions on the subject of slavery with reference to Missouri shook our political fabric to its foundations. Will the citizens of Georgia consent to increase an evil which so lately threatened a dissolution of the Union, and the annihilation of the best hopes of man?

We know the vast excess of colored people in the West Indies. Within a few years, we have seen a government established in one of the largest of them, which is constantly increasing in numbers and intelligence in physical and moral and political importance and which portends the most terrible convulsions in the West Indies. Constituted and situated as the Southern states are, can they hope to remain entirely undisturbed by those convulsions?, and is it not one of the plainest dictates of policy, nay, of common sense not to increase the numbers of an enemy already too numerous! I say, enemy; for such, in the nature of men, they necessarily are; and let it be remembered, too, that they overspread our entire country, and occupy the most commanding positions.

9. SLAVE-BUYING VICISSITUDES

Extract from a news letter from Georgia, dated Dec. 7, printed in the Charleston (S.C.) *City Gazette*, Dec. 21, 1799.

The Georgia Legislature, upon counting over the Yazoo money in the treasury, found that 9 or 10,000 dollars were missing; the greater part of which, it is said, Mr. James Simms, of the house of representatives, borrowed from Major Berrien, the treasurer. The money which Mr. Simms loaned [borrowed], he entrusted to a person of the name of Speers, to purchase negroes in Virginia. Speers accordingly went, and

purchased a considerable number of negroes; and on his way, returning to this state, the negroes rose, and cut the throats of Speers and of another man who accompanied him: The slaves fled, and about ten of them, I think, were killed. In consequence of this misfortune, Mr. Simms was rendered unable to raise the money at the time the legislature met. Major Berrien is removed from the office of treasurer, and is politically dead.

10. SLAVE PRICES AT THE END OF THE REGIME

(a) Chambers, William. *Things as they are in America,* second edition (London, 1857), 277.

Table of slave prices current in Richmond, Va., Dec., 1853.

Best Men, 18 to 25 years old	1200 to 1300	dollars
Fair do. do. do.	950 to 1050	"
Boys, 5 feet	850 to 950	"
Do., 4 feet 8 inches	700 to 800	"
Do., 4 feet 5 inches	500 to 600	"
Do., 4 feet	375 to 450	"
Young Women	800 to 1000	"
Girls, 5 feet	750 to 850	"
Do., 4 feet 9 inches	700 to 750	"
Do, 4 feet	350 to 452	"

PULLIAM and DAVIS, Richmond, Virginia.

(b) Editorial from the Athens (Ga.) *Southern Banner,* Jan. 21, 1858.

PRICE OF NEGROES. Notwithstanding the "hue and cry" about hard times, pressure, monetary crisis, and all that, the price of negro property has been but slightly affected. We have observed lately in our exchanges, reports of sales in all quarters of the slave states. In some sections it is true there has been a slight falling off in prices but throughout the cotton growing region they hold up astonishingly. This argues a confidence on the part of the planters that there is a "good time a-coming." Well, we trust they may not be deceived in their calculations.

(c) Atlanta (Ga.) *Daily Intelligencer,* Jan. 7, 1860, quoting the Lynchburg (Va.) *Republican* and the Petersburg (Va.) *Democrat.*

HIGH PRICES: Negroes of all ages and sexes are hiring very high in this city. Ordinary factory hands, boys and men, command from $110 to $165, railroad hands, $140, women for cooks and house-servants from $60 to $80; girls from $30 to $40. These prices are considerably higher than were ever paid before, in Lynchburg.

The above is from the *Republican* of Saturday. No. 1 factory hands, we hear, have been hired in Petersburg during the past week at $223,00 – and in one instance we learn four men hired for $1000. (Petersburg *Democrat.*)

While in Montgomery on Monday we saw negroes sold and hired at tremendous high rates. Judging from all the above the "irrepressible conflict" of Mr. Seward, has not as yet, arrived, or made such serious headway as to lessen the value of the "peculiar institution." And what is more, it never will, for the South, if the issue be forced upon, will protect it, by forming a Southern Confederacy; and will disrupt any union when she has to act the part of a menial and is denied equality. If "trifling politicians" think she loves the Union more than her own Institutions and will sacrifice the latter to preserve the former, why they are mistaken–that's all

(d) Atlanta (Ga.) *Daily Intelligencer,* Jan. 13, 1860, quoting from the Macon (Ga.) *Telegraph.*

We learn that the average price of negroes in Crawford [County] at the sales last Tuesday, was $1,113; and there was an undue proportion of old negroes and children. The best field hand, a boy 21-years old. sold for $1900.00. One woman seventeen years old and a baby

nine months old, brought $2,150. None of the above were purchased by heirs. Among those that were so purchased, a woman (18) and a child (3) brought upwards of $2,500. – One woman (30) and 3 children, the oldest 6-yrs, sold at $4,525. A child eleven years old, sold for $1,525.

Lands sold for about $18 an acre; a little above for Oak and Hicory lying on Echeeconee and fifteen dollars and a fraction for pine land. None of the lands were purchased by heirs.

(e) Editorial expressing apprehension of disaster as a consequence of the inflation, from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Jan. 17, 1860.

THE NEGRO FEVER. There is a perfect fever raging in Georgia now on the subject of buying negroes. Several sales which have come under our eye within a month past, afford an unmistakable sympton of the prevalence of a disease in the public mind on this subject. In view of the fabulous prices offered for the species of property, reflecting men are led to the inquiry what is to be done to supply the deficiency for negroes in the South-west? We are unable to give any satisfactory answer. But, so far as the effect which these high prices is to have in our own State, is concerned, we think that we can truthfully say, the fever will soon abate in a very natural way. Men are borrowing money at exorbitant rates of interest to buy negroes at exorbitant prices. The speculation will not sustain the speculators, and in a short time we shall see many negroes and much land offered under the sheriffs hammer, with few buyers for cash, and then this kind of property will descend to its real value. The old rule of pricing a negro by the price of cotton by the pound–that is to say, if cotton is worth twelve cents, a negro man is worth $1200.00 if at

fifteen cents, then $1500.00–does not seem to be regarded. Negroes are 25% higher now with cotton at ten and one-half cents than they were two or three years ago, when it was worth fifteen and sixteen cents. Men are demented upon the subject. A reverse will surely come.

XI. FUGITIVE AND STOLEN SLAVES

1. THE CHASE AND CAPTURE OF A SLAVE STEALER

News item in the Atlanta (Ga.) *Daily Intelligencer*, Jan. 22, 1851, and reprinted from the Newman (Ga.) *Banner*.

OVERHAULED: Those Absconding negroes, accompanied by a white man (referred to in this paper of the 2nd inst) were overhauled by their owners, Messrs. Calhoun and Story, after a hot and spirited chase through Alabama, Tenn., &. Ky. The white fellow proved to be a young man by the name of Howard from N. Carolina, who had been working in our town during some portion of the past year at the carpenter's trade. At Decatur, Ala. he sold one of the boys, pocketed the money and provided himself with a pass to join him and the other boy at Tuscumbia. Learning however, in the meantime, that he was being hotly pursued, Howard abandoned the boy and made tracks for his own safety in the direction of Illinois, through Tenn. &. Ky. By the aid of the Telegraph the Progress of the villain was cut short off at Smithland, Ky., near the mouth of the Cumberland, within a few hundred yds. of the State of Ill. He is now in jail, subject to the requisition of the Executive of this State—all done too, without the owners of the negroes ever seeing the scoundrel, or being within hundreds of miles of him. We wish the young man a speedy retreat within our penitentiary, and plenty of good hard work, and hard usage for his pains of endeavoring to defraud honest men out of their property. The owners returned to this place, with their negroes on Tuesday last.

2. THE OPERATIONS OF A PROFESSIONAL

Howard, H. R., compiler. *The History of Virgil A. Stewart, and his adventure in capturing and exposing the great "western land pirate" and his gang* (New York, 1836), 63-68 and 104. Incidents in the career of the desperado John A. Murrell, narrated by him to Stewart.

I was born in middle Tennessee. My parents had not much property, but they were intelligent people; and my father was an honest man I expect, and tried to raise me honest, but I think none the better of him for that. My mother was of the pure grit; she learned me and all her children to steal as soon as we could walk, and would hide for us whenever she could. . .

At the age of sixteen I played a trick on a merchant in that country. I walked into his store one day, and he spoke to me very politely, calling me by the name of a young man who had a rich father, and invited me to trade with him. I thanked him, and requested him to put down a piece of superfine cloth; I took a suit, and had it charged to the rich man's son.

I began to look after larger spoils, and ran several fine horses. By the time I was twenty I began to acquire considerable character, and concluded to go off and do my speculation where I was not known, and go on a larger scale; so I began to see the value of having friends in this business. I made several associates; I had been acquainted with some old hands for a long time, who had given me the name of some royal fellows between Nashville and Savannah, in the State of Georgia, and many other places. Myself and a fellow by the name of Crenshaw gathered four good horses, and started for Georgia. . .

We stole a negro man, and pushed for Mississippi. We had promised him that we would conduct him to a

free state if he would let us sell him once as we went on the way; we also agreed to give him part of the money. We sold him for six hundred dollars; but, when we went to start, the negro seemed to be very uneasy, and appeared to doubt our coming back for him as we had promised. We lay in a creek bottom, not far from the place where we had sold the negro, all the next day, and after dark we went to the china-tree in the lane where we were to meet Tom; he had been waiting for some time. He mounted his horse, and we pushed him a second time. We rode twenty miles that night to the house of a friendly speculator. I had seen him in Tennessee, and had given him several lifts. He gave me his place of residence, that I might find him when passing. He is quite rich, and one of the best kind of fellows. Our horses were fed as much as they would eat, and two of them were foundered the next morning. We were detained a few days and during that time our friend went to a little village in the neighborhood, and saw the negro advertised, with a description of the two men of whom he had been purchased, and with mention of them as suspicious personages. It was rather squally times, but any port in a storm; We took the negro that night on the bank of a creek which runs by the farm of our friend, and Crenshaw shot him through the head. We took out his entrails, and sunk him in the creek; our friend furnished us with one fine horse, and we left him our foundered horses. We made our way through the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, and then to Williamson county, in this state. We should have made a fine trip if we had taken care of all we got. . .

My next speculation was in the Choctaw nation. Myself and brother stole two fine horses, and made our way into the Choctaw nation. We got in with an old

negro man, and his wife, and three sons, to go off with us to Texas, and promised them that, if they would work for us one year after we got there, we would let them go free, and told them many fine stories. We got into the Mississippi swamp, and were badly bothered to reach the bank of the river. We had turned our horses loose at the edge of the swamp, and let them go. After we reached the bank of the river we were in a bad condition, and we had no craft to convey us down the river, and our provisions gave out, and our only means for support were killing game and eating it. Eventually we found an Indian trail through the bottom, and we followed it to a bayou that made into the river, where we had the pleasure of finding a large canoe locked to the bank; we broke it loose and rowed into the main river, and were soon descending for New Orleans. . . We landed fifty miles above New Orleans and went into the country and sold our negroes to a Frenchman for nineteen hundred dollars. . .

I decoyed a negro man from his master in Middle Tennessee and sent him to Mills Point by a young man, and I waited to see the movements of the owner.

He thought his negro had run off. So I started to take possession of my prize. I got another friend at Mills Point to take my negro in a skiff and convey him to the mouth of Red River, and I took a passage on a steam boat. I then went through the country by land, and sold my negro for nine hundred dollars, and the second night after I sold him I stole him again, and my friend ran him to the Irish bayou in Texas; I followed on after him, and I sold my negro in Texas for five hundred dollars.

3. A CHILD KIDNAPPED

Advertisement from the *Town Gazette & Farmers' Register* (Clarksville, Tenn.), Aug. 9, 1819.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD. Was stolen from the subscriber, living at the mouth of the Saline, twelve miles below Dover, on Wednesday last, the 28th ultimo, a Negro Boy named Jordan. He is about five years old, and tolerably well grown for that age; has a stoppage in his speech. He was stolen from the bed between his father and mother. One hundred Dollars will be given for the boy and thief, or Fifty Dollars for the boy alone.

ISAAC BRUNSON.

4. THE RIVER HIGHWAY

(a) Advertisement from the Baton Rouge (La.) *Gazette,* April 8, 1826.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD. Runaway from the subscriber living on the Dutch Highlands, on the night of the 3d inst. a Quarteroon named Charles, about 20 years of age, about 5 feet 9 inches in height, speaks French and English fluently – when spoken to, has a down look and speaks very fast, light blue eyes, sandy coloured hair, very slovenly in his dress. The above quarteroon is well known in New Orleans, to which place, it is supposed he has gone; and I have strong reasons to believe he has been enticed away by a person lately from Indiana, who was at this place with a flat boat; had on when he went away, a yellow jane coat much worn, a pair of homespun pantaloons, a cotton cambrick shirt, the breast of which well plaited, a white hat half worn with a small hole on the rim cut with a knife.

The above reward will be given to any person who will put him in any jail in this state, so that I may recover him.

ISHAM P. FOX.

(b) News item from the Memphis *Enquirer* and reprinted in the New Orleans *Bee,* June 16, 1825.

SOMETHING NEW IN THIEVING. Under this head, the Memphis *Enquirer* narrates a singular incident– On Sunday morning the 8th. inst., a box marked "John Bennett, Louisville, Ky.," was deposited on the wharf-boat of Messrs. A. B. Shaw & Co., to be shipped by the first boat. It was left by a free black who was very particular in directing it to be handled with care. An hour or two after, a gentleman happened to approach when a voice from the interior was heard to call out "open the door." Much consternation followed, and the spectators thought his Satanic Majesty had taken temporary lodgings in the inside of the box. After due deliberation, Mr. Shaw the owner of the boat, ripped off the top with a butcher's cleaver, when out jumped a strapping negro fellow nearly dead with suffocation and steaming like the escape pipe of a steamboat. He was greatly exhausted, but was revived by the fresh air and the application of stimulants, when he gave the following account of his singular incarceration:

It appears that he belongs to Mr. John Lewis of Germantown, and has been hired here in town. He states that the scheme which had well nigh cost him his life, was concocted some months ago by John Bennett, a free black rascal, well known to many of our citizens. The intention was to ship him, in the manner attempted, to Cincinnati, from whence he was to be conveyed by the Abolitionists to Canada. In the box was a quantity of moss, a number of plates, and a few dozen water crackers. Air holes were bored in the ends of the box. They forgot, however, to put in a supply of water. He states that he would inevitably have died in a very short

while, if he had not been extricated, and his condition when taken out of the box confirms the opinion.

Bennett has since been arrested.

(c) News item from the New Orleans (La.) *Picayune,* Aug. 30, 1845.

Two negroes were found secreted on board of the steamboat Paul Jones, when near Lafayette, on her last trip down. It is supposed that they got on board at Vicksburg, and that they had been stewards of some steamboat. They are of light color, and say they are free, but have no papers to prove their freedom. There was a large sum of money found upon their persons—say about $1,000. They have been lodged in the First Municipality calaboose.

5. MOTIVES AND TALENTS OF RUNAWAY SLAVES

(a) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), Jan. 13, 1774.

TWENTY POUNDS REWARD. Run away from Subscriber, a Mullatto Man named Abel, about forty Years old, near six Feet high, has lost several of his Teeth, large Eyebrows, a Scar or two on some Part of his Face, occasioned by a Brick thrown at him by a Negro, is very apt to stroke his Hand over his Chin, and plays on the Violin. He is well known as a Pilot for York River and the Bay. As I have whipped him twice for his bad Behaviour, I believe Scars may be seen upon his Body. He can write so as to be understood, and once wrote a Pass for a Negro belonging to the Honourable Colonel Corbin, wherein he said the Fellow had served his Time honestly and truly. He has been to England, but the Captain he went with took Care to bring him back, and since his Return from that Country is very fond of Liquor. He is gone off in a

Boat with two Masts, Schooner rigged, once a Pilot Boat, but now the Property of the Magdalen Schooner of War, and was seen, I am told, fifty or sixty Leagues to the southward of Cape Henry, from which it is expected he intends for one of the Carolinas. He is a very great Rogue, and is so instructed by several Persons not far from Wormeley's Creek, York River; one of whom, he told me, said I was not worthy to be his Master. He had some Cash of my Son's, and an Order drawn by Captain Punderson on Richard Corbin, Esq; payable to Ralph G. Meredith or myself. A White Lad went off with him, whom I cannot describe, never having seen him to my Knowledge. Whoever secures said Servant, so that I get him again, shall have the above Reward. SAMUEL MEREDITH, Senior.
King and Queen, November 16, 1773.

(b) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette,* April 21, 1774.
A talented and wily mulatto.

Run away from the Neabsco Furnace, on the 16th of last Month, a light coloured Mulatto Man named Billy or Will, the Property of the Honourable John Taylor, Esquire. When I tell the Publick that he is the same Boy, who, for many Years, used to wait on me in my Travels through this and the neighbouring Province, and, by his Pertness, or rather Impudence, was well known to almost all my Acquaintances, there is the less Occasion for a particular Description of him. However, as he is now grown to the Size of a Man, and has not attended me for some Time past, I think it not amiss to say that he is a very likely young Fellow, about twenty Years old, five Feet nine Inches high, stout and strong made, has a remarkable Swing in his Walk, but is much more so by a surprising Knack he has of gaining the good Graces of almost every Body who will lis-

ten to his bewitching and deceitful Tongue, which seldom or ever speaks the Truth; has a small Scar on the right Side of his Forehead, and the little Finger of his right Hand is quite straight by a Hurt he got when a Child. He had on when he went away a blue Fearnaught and an under Jacket of green Baize, Cotton Breeches, Osnabrug Shirt, a mixed Blue Pair of Stockings, a pair of Country made Shoes, and yellow Buckles. From his Ingenuity, he is capable of doing almost any Sort of Business, and for some Years past has been chiefly employed as a Founder, a Stone Mason, and a Miller, as Occasion required; one of which Trades, I imagine, he will, in the Character of a Freeman, profess. I have some Reason to suspect his travelling towards James River, under the Pretence of being sent by me on Business. Whoever apprehends the said Mulatto Slave, and brings him to me, or his Master, the Honourable John Taylor of Mount Airy, or secures him so as to be had again, shall have double what the Law allows, and all reasonable Charges paid by

THOMAS LAWSON.

Neabsco Furnace, April 1, 1774.

(c) Advertisement from the Baton Rouge (La.) *Republic,* July 30, 1822.

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS REWARD. Ran away from the subscriber, on the 15th. of May last, a negro man called Jim, about thirty five years of age, five feet ten inches high, slender built, very black, and considerably marked in his face by the small pox – He is by trade a painter, glazier and ship-carpenter, inclines to be very talkative; and informed me a short time before his departure, that he was a drummer in the army during the late war. I think it very probable from the general tenor of his conversation while here, that he will endeavor to get back to the neighborhood of Savannah, if possible.

I will pay the above reward, and all reasonable charges, for his being taken up and secured in any jail in the United States, so that I get him again.

Monroe, (Lou.) July 12, 1822 R. H. STERLING.

The Editors of the *Republican,* Savannah–*Floridian,* Pensacola–and *Republic,* Baton Rouge, are requested to give the above three insertions in their respective papers, and forward their accounts to this office for payment.

(d) Advertisement from the Baton Rouge (La.) *Republic,* April 16, 1822.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD. Ran-Away from the subscriber on Monday night, the 18th. instant, a negro man named Abraham, about 36 years of age, five feet ten or eleven inches high, black skin, limps a little in his right foot, and is very talkative; when in low white company, of which he is very fond, he pretends to be a free man. He was formerly owned by Mr. Overacre near Natchez, and was purchased by me of William T. Walker of that place, about three months ago. Abraham may probably attempt to reach Natchez, if he has gone off without pursuasion, but should he have been stolen, which I have some reason to suspect is the case, it is likely he will be taken up Red river, or to the neighborhood of Ouachita. The above reward will be paid upon the delivery of the negro to me at Baton Rouge, and the conviction of the thief, or $20 for such information as will enable me to recover the negro.

March 19-tf JOHN NOLAND.

The Editors of the Nashville *Whig,* Tennessee; Arkansas *Gazette;* and Cahawba *Press,* Alabama; are requested to insert the above advertisement three times, and forward their accounts to this office for payment.

(e) Extracts from letters of Elisha Cain, overseer on Retreat Plantation, Jefferson County, Ga., Oct. 10 and Nov. 1, 1829, to his employer, Alexander Telfair, Savannah. MSS. in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, trustee for the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah.

(1) Letter of Oct. 10.

At present we are all well (or near so) notwithstanding many of the negroes both young & old, have had the fever, and some of them have been sick, though I have not applied to any physician, and now I hope the worst is over. . .

John ran off from me on the 18th Sept., and I have not seen him since. I have generally got on tolerable smoothely with the business, equally as much so if not more than any other year since I have lived on your plantation, and John's running off was for no other cause than that he did not feel disposed to be governed by the same rules & regulations that the other negroes on the land are governed by.

(2) Letter of Nov. 1.

I stated to you in my last that John had ran off from me. He has returned, and appears to be willing to do his duty.

6. DANGERS AND PUNISHMENTS

(a) Advertisement from the Raleigh (N.C.) *Register,* Feb. 20, 1818. Shooting at Runaways.

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD. Ran Away from the subscriber, living in Franklin county, North-Carolina on the 12th. of January, 1817, a Negro Man named Randol about 26 or 27 years of age, between 5 and 6 feet high, rather yellow complected; appears humble when spoken to. It is expected he has some marks of shot about his hips, thighs, neck and face, as he has been shot at several times. His wife belongs to a Mr. Henry Bridges, for-

merly of this county, who started with her about the 14th. instant, to South-Carolina, Georgia or Tennessee. It is supposed he will attempt to follow her. This is to caution all persons harbouring or trading for said Negro. And all masters of vessels are forbid having anything to do with him at the penalty of the law. The above reward and all reasonable charges will be paid to any person who will secure said negro, so that I get him. WOOD TUCKER.

December 23, 1817.

N.B. Any person apprehending the above Negro, will inform me by letter, directed to Ransom's Bridge, N.C.

The Editors of the *Telescope,* S. Carolina; the *Whig,* Nashville, Tenn.; and *Reflector,* Milledgeville, will insert this advertisement six times, and forward their bills as above.

(b) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), April 23, 1767.

Bounty on the head of an outlawed slave.

Run Away from the subscriber in Norfork, about the 20th of October last, two young Negro fellows, viz. Will, about 5 feet 8 inches high, middling black, well made, is an outlandish fellow, and when he is surprised the white of his eyes turns red; I bought him of Mr. Moss, about 8 miles below York, and imagine he is gone that way, or some where between York and Williamsburg. Peter, about 5 feet 9 inches high, a very black slim fellow, has a wife at Little Town, and a father at Mr. Philip Burt's quarter, near the half-way house between Williamsburg and York, he formerly belonged to Parson Fontaine, and I bought him of Doctor James Carter. They are both outlawed; and Ten Pounds a piece offered to any person that will kill the said Ne-

groes, and bring me their heads, or Thirty Shillings for each if brought home alive. JOHN BROWN.

(c) Advertisement from the *Carolina Centinel* (Newbern, N.C.), Aug. 8, 1818.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD. The subscriber having legally outlawed his negro man Harry, offers the above reward for his head, or the same if delivered alive to me. Harry is a stout well made fellow about five feet six inches high, small eyes, and an impudent look; he took with him when he absconded two coats, one grey and the other blue, and a home made suit of winter clothes, together with some other articles of clothing not recollected. – The above mentioned negro is legally outlawed. JOHN Y. BONNER.
Fair-field, near Washington, N.C.

(d) Advertisement from the Tennessee *Gazette & Mero District Advertiser* (Nashville), Nov. 7, 1804.
Andrew Jackson's way.

STOP THE RUNAWAY. FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD. Eloped from the subscriber, living near Nashville on the 25th. of June last, a Mulatto Man Slave, about thirty years old, five feet and an inch high, stout made and active, talks sensible, stoops in his walk, and has a remarkably large foot, broad across the root of the toes–will pass for a free man, as I am informed he has obtained by some means, certificates as such–took with him a drab great-coat, dark mixed body coat, a ruffled shirt, cotton home spun shirts and overalls. He will make for Detroit, through the states of Kentucky and Ohio, or the upper part of Louisiana. The above reward will be given any person that will take him and deliver him to me, or secure him in jail so that I can get him. If taken out of the state, the above reward, and all reasonable expenses paid–and ten dollars extra for

every hundred lashes any person will give him to the amount of three hundred.

ANDREW JACKSON, near Nashville, State of Tennessee.

(e) Advertisement from the Louisiana *Journal* (St. Francisville), Nov. 25, 1826.

Iron collar and whip marks.

RUNAWAY SLAVE. Is detained in the public prison of the Parish of Point Coupee, as a runaway, a negro about twenty years of age, calls himself William, he is Black and has a down look, five feet seven inches high, when committed, had around his neck an Iron collar with three prongs extending upwards, has many scars on his back and shoulders from the whip. He first said he belonged to a Mr. Robert Delony of New Orleans, secondly to a Mr. Stewart of Baton Rouge, thirdly to a Mr. John Davis, living opposite New Orleans, on the Mississippi river. Owners are requested to prove property and take him away. S. VAN WICKLE, Shff.
Point Coupee, Nov. 4, 1826.

7. ARREST OF STRAYS AND SUSPECTS

(a) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), Nov. 5, 1767.

Taken up on the 26th of July last, and now in Newbern goal, North Carolina, Two New Negro Men, the one named Joe, about 45 years of age, about 5 feet 6 inches high, much wrinkled in the face, and speaks bad English. The other is a young fellow, about 5 feet 10 inches high speaks better English than Joe, who he says is his father, has a large scar on the fleshy part of his left arm, and says they belong to Joseph Morse, but can give no account where he lives. They have nothing with them but an old Negro cloth jacket, and an old blue sailors jacket without sleeves. Also on the 21st of

September was committed to the said goal a Negro man named Jack, about 23 years of age, about 5 feet 4 inches high, of a thin visage, blear eyed, his teeth and mouth stand very much out, has six rings of his country marks round his neck, his ears full of holes, and cannot tell his master's name. And on the 27th of September two other Negro men, one named Sampson, about 5 feet 10 inches high, about 25 years of age, well made, very black, and is much marked on his body and arms with his country marks. The other named Will, about 5 feet 4 inches high, about 22 years of age, and marked on the chin with his country marks[2]; they speak bad English, and cannot tell their masters names. Whoever own the said Negroes are desired to come and pay the fees and take them away. RICHARD BLACKLEDGE, Sheriff.

(b) Advertisement from the Elkton (Md.) *Press,* Sept. 13, 1828.

TO SLAVE HOLDERS. Notice is hereby given, that a Negroman, about 26 years of age, has been committed to Cecil county jail, under suspicion of being a runaway slave. He is five feet nine inches high, stout and well formed, with remarkably small eyes. He calls himself John Brown, says that he was brought up near Bucks' county, by a Mr. Disborough, and that his parents are both free. He has been employed for nearly 12 months as a hand on board of a small packet, which sails between Baltimore and Port Deposit. His clothing consists of a pair of white drilling trousers, muslin shirt, and striped waistcoat. If within the space of sixty days from the date hereof, application shall not be made for him and all such legal costs and charges, as have accrued and shall accrue, by reason of apprehending, imprisoning, and advertising him, paid, I will discharge

[2] "Country marks" were the scars, tattooing, boring of ears, filing of teeth, etc., by which the Africans of certain tribes were accustomed to mark their persons. – ED.

him from prison unless remanded back for further confinement, by the judge before whom I shall take him for examination, according to the provisions of the acts of assembly. THOMAS MILLER, Jr. Sheriff of C. C.

8. LOCAL REFUGES

(a) Advertisement from the *Carolina Centinel* (Newbern, N.C.), July 25, 1818.

TEN DOLLARS REWARD. Ranaway From the Subscriber living in Jones County, on the 18th. inst. a Negro Woman by the name of Amy, she is tall and stout built, Yellow Complexion, about 40 years of age, with several scars on her cheek and back of her neck, walks with her toes very much out, one of her fore-fingers very crooked near the joint of the thumb, which prevents her from straitening it, and has a very sullen look. The above Negro woman was taken up last winter by Mr. Guilford D. Murphy, up Neuse, where she was harboured. She says she was harboured, by a fellow by the name of Sam, belonging to Gen. Thomas A. Green, she then went to General Simpson's plantation, where she was harboured by his negroes, then crossed over Neuse and was harboured by Mr. Patrick's and William Bryan's Negroes. I will give the above reward for her, delivered to me or secured in Jail so that I get her.

Masters of vessels and all others are forbid harbouring, employing or carrying her away under penalty of the law. JOSEPH HATCH.
Jones County, July 25th. 1818.

(b) News item from the Charleston (S.C.) *Observer*, July 21, 1827.

A nest of runaway negroes were lately discovered in the fork of the Alabama and Tombeckbee rivers, and broken up, after a smart skirmish by a party from Mobile County. Three of the negroes were killed, several

taken and a few escaped. They had two cabins, and were about to build a fort! Some of then had been runaway for years, and had committed many depredations on the neighbouring plantations.

(c) Extract from the diary of Henry Ravenel of St. John's Parish, South Carolina. MS. in possession of the Ravenel family, Pinopolis, S.C.

1819. July 12. A party of Gent^m^ from Pineville commanded by Major S. Porcher went into the swamps to attack a party of runaway negroes supposed to be armed. The squadron consisted of the following gentlemen, John and Jos. Palmer, Thos. Porcher, P. Porcher, I. Porcher &c. During our researches through the swamps an unfortunate accident occurred, by one of our party firing thro mistake, supposing him a negro, at another, Thomas L. Gourdin, shot Jas. Gaillard in the foot a slight wound. We proceeded from Milford down to Richmond and then came out.

N.B. The above party did not see or hear of any runaway negro in the swamp. Two captains companies turned out on the other side of the river, but were equally unsuccessful. Some time previous to our excursion a party from Williamsburg patrolled the swamp and shot a couple of negroes, a fellow . . . belonging to C. Lenud, the other owner unknown, both negroes died. A few days after our hunt another party from Williamsburg on a similar hunt shot a fellow of T. Gaillard and took some others armed, amongst them a ringleader named Billy from the Southward. He gives intelligence of a party of 30 negroes most of whom are armed, some in Hell Hole Swamp the rest in Santee Swamp, and a regular chain extending toward Georgetown."

9. "FOR SALE AS HE RUNS"

Advertisement from the *Carolina Centinel* (Newbern, N.C.), Aug. 8, 1818.

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS REWARD. Ranaway from the Subscriber two months since, a Negro man named John; he is about 27 years of age, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, of a dark complexion, has a lean face, round body, and is well made–speaks plain, can read tolerably well, and has a scar on one of his heels. He has been lurking about Vine Swamp, in this county, and about my own neighborhood–and has frequently been seen with a gun, and other weapons for defense. It is thought that he will endeavor to get to Portsmouth, in Virginia, where he was sold by Mr. H. Harboard, to Mr. Andrew Hurst of Duplin County N. Carolina.

The above reward will be given to any person who will apprehend said negro & secure him in any Jail so that I get him.

Should any person be disposed to purchase him as he runs, I will take six hundred dollars, and give a good title. He is an excellent ditcher, can Hew, farm, or turn his hand to almost anything.

All masters of vessels and others are forwarned from harbouring, employing, or carrying him away under the penalty of the law. FRANCIS GOODING.
Lenoir County, 25th. April, 1818-tf.

10. THE BARBARISM OF SLAVERY IN THE CASE OF LIGHT MULATTOES

(a) Advertisement from the Georgia *Express* (Athens), Dec. 17, 1808.

Runaway from the subscriber living in Jackson county, on the Oconee river near Clarkesborough, on Sunday night the 13th of November last a mulatto man of the name of Joe. He is a very bright mulatto, almost white,

about six feet high, tolerably well made, yellow gray eyes and yellow hair. He is branded on each cheek with the letter R, one of his upper fore teeth out, and, on examining under one of his arms there will be found a scar. He carried off with him clothes of different kinds, among them is a blue regimental coat turned up with red. He likewise took away with him a smooth bored gun. I suspect he will attempt to pass for a free man, and no doubt will aim northwardly or for the Indian Nation. Any person who will apprehend the above described negro, deliver him to me or confine him in jail shall be handsomely compensated.

RICHARD THURMOND.

(b) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), March 26, 1767.

Run away about the 15th of December last, a small yellow Negro wench named Hannah, about 35 years of age; had on when she went away a green plains petticoat, and sundry other clothes, but what sort I do not know, as she stole many from the other Negroes. She has remarkable long hair, or wool, is much scarified under the throat from one ear to the other, and has many scars on her back, occasioned by whipping. She pretends much to the religion the Negroes of late have practised, and may probably endeavour to pass for a free woman, as I understand she intended when she went away, by the Negroes in the neighbourhood. She is supposed to have made for Carolina. Whoever takes up the said slave, and secures her so that I get her again, shall be rewarded according to their trouble, by

STEPHEN DENCE.

11. A SLAVE SUICIDE

Extract from a letter of William Capers, overseer on Gowrie and East Hermitage Plantations, Chatham County, Ga., June 13, 1860, to his employer, Charles Manigault, Charleston, S.C. MS. in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Pinopolis, S.C.

[On my return to the plantation] All things found going on quite well excepting the death of London who was drowned on Monday morning about 9 ocl. The cause of this sad calamity is this, viz., George brought London & Nat to Ralph,[3] saying they deserved punishment, they were taken to the Barn, when Ralph went for the key to put them in George allowed London to leave him, an when spoken to by Ralph about not making an exertion to stop London his answer was he would not dust his feet to stop him. London went on to Racoon sq[r] then took the River at the mouth of the canal, in the presents of some of Mr. Barclay's negroes and Ralph who told him to return, George should not whip him until my return, his ans[wer] was he would drown himself before he would and he sank soon after, the remains of him is now quite near no 15 Trunk, Gowrie. My orders have been no one is to touch the corpse and will there remain if not taken off by the next tide, this I have done to let the negroes see when a negro takes his own life they will be treated in this manner. My advice to you about George is to ship him, he is of no use to you as a driver and is a bad negro, he would command a good price in Savannah where he can be sold in a quiet manner.

[3] Ralph was apparently the negro foreman, George, a subforeman, and London and Nat were members of George's gang. – Ed.

12. LISTS OF RUNAWAYS IMPRISONED IN JAMAICAN WORKHOUSES, 1803

Official advertisements of runaways from the *Royal Gazette* (Kingston, Jamaica), June 4-11, 1803.

RUNAWAYS. IN KINGSTON WORKHOUSE, JUNE 9, 1803

Davey, [belonging] to the Hon. A. Johnstone, Esq. a creole, 5 feet 6¾ inc. Nov. 25.

Franky, to the Hon. Henry Shirley, Esq. an Eboe, 4 feet 8 inc. no visible mark, Mar. 3.

Joe, to Mr. Lawrence,–Coromantee, 5 feet ½ inc. marked both shoulders, but not plain. 17.

Robert to Dr. Ettrick, an Angola, 4 feet 7 ½ inc. no visible mark, but a sore in his right leg. 21.

Gerard Cohen, a mulatto man 5 feet. 10 inc. no visible mark, 24.

Will, to Dr. J. J. Reeve,–creole, 5 ft. 3¼ inc. marked IR left shoulder, 29.

Richard, to Capt. John Edwards, a Bermudian, 5 feet. 2 inc. no visible mark.

Bacchus, to Mr. Thomas Leigh, a Congo, 5 feet 8½ inc. marked CD, heart with an arrow through it, on top, right shoulder.

John Davis, to Capt. Taite, an Eboe, 5 ft. 7½ inc. April 8.

Tom, to Mr. Pierce, on or near Mr. Stanley's mountain, a Coromantee, 5 feet 2½ inc. marked RI, diamond between, reversed on the left shoulder.

Robert to Capt. Roberts, Port-Antonio, a Mundingo, 5 ft. 8 inc. 22.

Wheedle, to Tavares, or Barrow, Duckenfield, an Angola, 5 feet. 3½ inc. WW right shoulder, 27.

Flora, to Miss Jenny Austin, a creole, 4 feet. 10 inc. May 1.

John Williams, says he is free, a creole of St. Kitt's, 5 ft. 9 inc. has lost the second toe in the left foot. 2.

James Richards, says he is free, a creole, 5 feet. 9 inc. no visible brand mark.

Lewis Vincent, says he is free,–Curracoa, 5 feet 9 inc. no visible brand mark.

John, to Mr. Thompson Watson, Spanish Town, a creole, 4 ft. 7½ inc. marked H.A. in one, both shoulders, 3.

Patty, to Mr. Hall, a creole, 5 ft. ½ inc. no visible mark.

Richard Payne, an American, 5 ft. 7¼ inc. has a large sore on his right leg.

William, to Mr. Jones, or Miss Fanny Williams, or Colliard, a Creole, 4 ft. 9 inc. marked on the right shoulder, but not plain.

Ned, owner unknown, a Mungola, 5 feet 3 inc. marked on the left shoulder D/B. 12.

Dragon, to Mr. Williams, Black River, a Coromantee, 5 ft. 4½ inc. mark appears CW right shoulder not plain. 15.

John, to Mr. Moody, an American 5 ft. 3½ inc. no visible mark, 19.

Moses, to the estate of Mr. Kellerman, a Papa, 5 ft. 2 inc. no visible brand mark. 20.

Betsey, to Miss Polly Hunt, a brown woman of Antigua, a Congo 5 ft. 1 inc. 26.

George, to Mr. Riddle, planter of Antigua, a Congo, 5 feet. 3¼ inc.

Joe or Thomas, to Mr. Ferrier or Mr. Farris, Eboe, 5 ft. 2¼ inc. marked A. right shoulder, not plain 30.

Trust, to Mr. Cardozo or Mr. Hunter, a man of colour, a Mundingo, 6 feet 2 inc. marked G.D. right shoulder June 3.

Patrick, to Mr. Johnston, overseer of Clarendon workhouse, or the parish of Clarendon, taken out of the workhouse on 30th. May by a Mr. Levy, from whom he made his escape, a creole, 4 ft. 10 inc. no visible mark 4.

Robert, to Messrs Hardys and Garnett a Mundingo boy, 4 ft. 5 inc. 5.

Jemmy, to the estate of Mr. Kemp, dec. a Mundingo 5 ft. 6½ inc. left ear split. 6.

Fanny to Mr. Watson, or Castile Fort pen, a creole, 5 ft. 2 inc. no visible brand mark 8.

Joe, to Mr. Munro, or Mr. Livingston, a Mundingo, 5 ft. 8 inc. no visible mark except that of the whip.

Juliet, to Monsieur Montagnac, an Eboe, 5 feet 5 inc. marked MV left shoulder 9.

Providence, to Mr. John Broughton, an Eboe, 4 ft. 5 inc. marked IB right shoulder 9.

Jamaica ss. The above is a just and true list of the Runaways in this workhouse, to the best of my information and belief, except those in the list for sale.

JAMES BARR, Sup.

Sworn before me this 9th. June, 1803.–GEO. KINGHORN.

IN ST. ANDREW'S WORKHOUSE, JUNE 9, 1803

Peter, to Mr. Clarke, Rose Hill, a Mungola–, RC, 5 ft. 7 inches, now found to belong to Mr. Clarke, Port-Antonio, Feb. 2.

Nancy, to Miss Waters, Kingston, a creole girl, no mark, 5 ft. 3 inc. Feb. 11.

Dick, to Mr. Barrett, a Coromantee, FB left shoulder, 5 ft. 4 inc. Mar 1.

James, to Mr. Alexander, Kingston, a Mundingo, 5 ft. 6½ inc. 29.

Adam, owner unknown, a Congo, 5 ft. 3 inc. April 19.

Cyrus, to Mr. Tonge, of St. Ann's a Congo, 5 ft. 4½ inc. 23.

William or Belford, to a Mr. Vennel or Vernall a creole 18V, 5 ft. 9¾ inc. 25.

Cork, to estate of William Bailey, a Congo, NE, BM underneath 5 ft. 4¾ inc. May 9.

Abraham, to Mr. Willis or Willasey, an Eboe, IC CI both shoulders, 5 ft. 3½ inc. 16.

A new negro man, owner unknown, a Moco, 5 ft. 8 inc. 20.

Dominick, to Cromwell estate, St. Mary's apparently GG left shoulder, 5 ft. 1½ inc.

Countess, a Papa wench, to Miss Desmond, 4 ft. 11 inc. 25.

John, to Doctor M'Dermot, a Moco boy, 5 ft. 0½ in. 27.

Jack, to Mr. Harnett, an Eboe Boy, 5 ft. 1 in.

Douglas, to Mr. Munro, a Papa D3 left shoulder, 5 ft. 5½ inc. June 2.

Cupid, to ditto, a Mungola boy 4 ft. 11 inc.

Clarissa, a new negro, owner unknown, a Mongola wench, 5 ft. 3½ inc. 3.

March, to A. Mackervan, a boy, says he is of the Wawee country, marks defaced, 5 ft. 2 in. 6.

Jamaica ss. The above is a true and just list of unclaimed Runaways in this workhouse on the above date, except those in the list for sale, to the best of my knowledge and belief. WM. WALKER.

Sworn to before me this 9th. day of June, 1803.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

XII. SLAVE CONSPIRACIES AND CRIME

1. AN OUTBREAK IN JAMAICA, 1765.

News item from the Gentleman's *Magazine*, vol. xxxvi, 135, 136.

Extract of a letter from Zach. Bayly, Esq., Custos Rotulorum of St. Mary's in Jamaica, to his brother, Nath. Bayly, of Lincoln's inn-fields; dated at Nonesuch Estate in St. Mary's the 27th Nov. 1765, received by the Ruby, Capt. King.

I was called up about two o'clock on Monday Morning, and told that the works at White-hall Estate were on fire and the Negroes in actual rebellion; and that Mr. Byndless (who dined with me the day before) was killed. I immediately mustered all the people here and at my estate Unity, and dispatched one of them to Tremolsworth estate, and so round that part of the neighborhood, and another round the lower part of the neighborhood to give the alarm; after which I pushed over to White-hall with seven or eight people, which were all I could muster; but we were told the rebels were gone to Ballard's Valley estate. We found Mr. Byndless dead upon the hall floor, and that Mrs. Beckford, seeing the Negroes knock him down, had jumped over the rails of the piazza, and run away in her under petticoat into the Cane pieces. The Overseer and another white man had run over to Ballard's Valley estate, and there being six or eight stands of good arms in the overseer's house, they mustered all their white people and were going to White-hall, when they found the rebels were coming towards them, but not knowing their numbers,

and hearing they had got many fire arms, they retired back into the overseer's house, in which though weak, they kept the rebels off, and shot one of them who endeavored to set the house on fire. The rebels then set the trash houses on fire, the flames of which we could see, and hear their hideous howling, which made us conclude they had killed all the white people there; and expecting they would go next to Unity estate, where I had appointed the Tremolsworth people to meet us, I pushed thither, after having taken two jugs and a half of powder and two blunderbusses which the rebels had left at White-hall estate; but as we saw nothing of them there, we hastened over to Ballard's Valley estate. By this time it was day-break; we found two or three armed people there left to take care of the works, and that the overseer, with the White-hall overseer, Dr. Campbell, and some others from Land Rumny estate, had made up a party and had just set off in pursuit of the rebels. We followed them and in our way found Mr. Graham, overseer of Land Rumny estate, lying dead upon the ground with his head cut off; it seems he had heard the shell blow, and seeing the fire at White-hall, rode directly to that estate, and so unfortunately fell into their hands. We saw a track of some blood which we imagined to be one of the wounded rebels, and therefore followed it as far as the cross; I there divided my people into two parties, one of which I sent towards Esher estate, and went with the other towards Seaton's; I soon heard some firing in the woods not far from us, and imagining that Dr. Campbell's party was now engaged with the rebels, I ordered a party immediately to go into the woods towards the place, I resolving to traverse round the wood and provision ground, in order, if possible, to prevent their escape. Soon after one of the party

brought me an account that they had killed four of them, and four others they found had shot themselves; they also took five muskets and three blunderbusses. I then thought it prudent to make an overhaul at all the neighboring estates, to see how many slaves were missing, and finding only fifteen or sixteen had been concerned, or at least, no more had gone into actual rebellion, I went to refresh the men at Nonesuch and afterwards sent out parties in pursuit of the remainder. Some of the Negroes report, that the rebels finding themselves disappointed in their first design, which was to kill all the white people in the neighborhood that night, and being pursued so soon after, they all made away with themselves; which as they were Corromantes, I think not unlikely.

2. A PLOT IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1831

News item from Fayetteville, N.C., printed in the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Oct. 6, 1831.

Two of the gentlemen who went from this place to Clinton on Monday night, have this moment returned, there being no danger, though the existence of the plot is clearly established. We have procured from one of them the following statement, drawn up by himself yesterday at Clinton. It is worthy of entire reliance.

On Sunday, the 4th inst., the first information of the contemplated rising of the blacks was sent from South Washington. The disclosure was made by a free mulatto man to Mr. Usher, of Washington, who sent the information to Mr. Kelly of Duplin. It appears from the mulatto's testimony, that Dave, a slave belonging to Mr. Morissey, of Sampson, applied to him to join the conspirators; stated that the negroes in Sampson, Duplin, and New Hanover, were regularly organized

and prepared to rise on the 4th of October. Dave was taken up, and on this testimony convicted. After his conviction, he made a confession of the above to his master, and, in addition, gave the names of the four principal ringleaders in Sampson and Duplin, and several in Wilmington, named several families that they intended to murder. Their object was to march by two routes to Wilmington, spreading destruction and murder on their way. At Wilmington they expected to be reinforced by 2,000, to supply themselves with arms and ammunition, and then return. Three of the ringleaders in Duplin have been taken, and Dave and Jim executed. There are 23 negroes in jail in Duplin county, all of them no doubt concerned in the conspiracy. Several have been whipped, and some released. In Sampson 25 are in Jail, all concerned directly or indirectly in the plot. The excitement among the people in Sampson is very great, and increasing; they are taking effectual measures to arrest all suspected persons. A very intelligent negro preacher, named David, was put on his trial to-day, and clearly convicted by the testimony of another negro. The people were so much enraged, that they scarcely could be prevented from shooting him on his passage from the Court house to the jail. All the confessions made induce the belief that the conspirators were well organized, and their plans well understood in Duplin, Sampson, Wayne, New Hanover, and Lenoir. Nothing had transpired to raise even a suspicion that they extended into Cumberland or Bladen, except that Jim confessed that Nat, Col. Wright's negro, (who has been missing since the discovery of the plot,) had gone to Bryant Wright's, in the neighborhood of Fayetteville, to raise a company to join the conspirators. The rumors respecting a large

force having been seen collected together, are unfounded, though there seems no doubt but that small armed bands have been seen. I cannot believe that any danger is to be apprehended, where the citizens are so constantly on the watch, and pursue such rigorous measures towards the offenders. The militia are assembled in ample force.

The Raleigh *Star* of Thursday last says–"We understand that about 21 negroes have been committed to jail in Edenton, on a charge of having been concerned in concerning a project of rebellion."

(Edenton is 100 miles from Southampton county, Virginia, and near 200 miles from Duplin and Sampson counties, in North Carolina.)

3. EFFECTS OF NEGRO PLOTS ON PUBLIC SENTIMENT

(a) *Memorial of the Citizens of Charleston to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina* [Charleston, 1822], 12 pages. Text here given complete.

At a moment of anxiety and in a season of deep solicitude, resulting from the recent discovery of a projected insurrection among our colored population, your Memorialists submit to you the following considerations:

Under the influence of mild and generous feelings, the owners of slaves in our state were rearing up a system, which extended many privileges to our negroes; afforded them greater protection; relieved them from numerous restraints; enabled them to assemble without the presence of a white person for the purpose of social intercourse or religious worship; yielding to them the facilities of acquiring most of the comforts and many of the luxuries of improved society; and what is of more importance, affording them means of enlarging their

minds and extending their information; a system, whose establishment many persons could not reflect on without concern, and whose rapid extension, the experienced among us could not observe but "with fear and trembling," nevertheless, a system which met the approbation of by far the greater number of our citizens, who exulted in what they termed the progress of liberal ideas upon the subject of slavery, whilst many good and pious persons fondly cherished the expectation that our negroes would be influenced in their conduct towards their owners by sentiments of affection and gratitude.

The tranquility and good order manifested for a time among the slaves, induced your memorialists to regard the extension of their privileges, in a favourable light, and to entertain the hope that as they were more indulged, they would become more satisfied with their condition and more attached to the whites.

But in the midst of these promising appearances, whilst the citizens were reposing the utmost confidence in the fidelity of the negroes, the latter were plotting the destruction of the former. A plan was perfected – a corps was organized–arms were collected, and every thing arranged to overwhelm us with calamity–a calamity from which we were preserved by the fidelity of a single slave, who disclosed to us a plot, which in its origin, extent and design, may well bear comparison with the most atrocious of the West Indian insurrectionary schemes. No regard was to be paid to age or sex–no discrimination to be made between the benevolent master and the severe slave-holder, without even respecting the sacred character of our Clergy, who had been assiduous in instructing them in the duties of life, and encouraging them in the pursuit of Heaven; the

slaves had resolved to seize on the arsenals, destroy the guard, murder the citizens, and envelope the town in one extended conflagration. The discovery of the plot, but a few days before the period resolved on for its execution, fortunately preserved us from these horrors, and brought many of the conspirators to justice. But although the immediate danger has passed away, yet the causes from which it originated your memorialists conceive to exist in full vigor and activity, and will, as they conscientiously believe, produce, before many years, a series of the most appalling distresses, unless speedily removed by the most resolute and most determined laws. To the enacting of such laws, the attention of the Legislature is solicited by your memorialists, who, after the most attentive investigation into the origin, design and extent of the late projected insurrection—after a careful inquiry into the existing evils of our slave system, and after mature reflection on the remedies to be adopted, humbly recommend that laws be passed to the following effects:—

1st. To send out of our State, never again to return, all the free persons of color.

In considering this subject, it naturally resolves itself into two parts: 1st. the evils to be expected from the movements of the free people of color from themselves, and 2nd. those which arise from the influence which the existence of such a class of persons must produce upon our slave system.

In considering, first, the evils to be apprehended more immediately from the free people of color themselves, we must consider the relation in which they stand both to the whites and the slaves. They form a third class in our society, enjoying more privileges than the slaves, and yet possessing few of the rights of the master; a

class of persons having and exercising the power of moving unrestrained over every part of the State; of acquiring property, of amassing wealth to an unlimited extent, of procuring information on every subject, and of uniting themselves in associations or societies—yet still a class, deprived of all political rights, subjected equally with slaves to the police regulations for persons of color, and sensible that by no peaceable and legal methods can they render themselves other than a degraded class in your society. Thus it appears that they have sufficient of liberty to appreciate the blessings of freedom; and are sufficiently shackled to be sensible they enjoy comparatively few of those blessings. But it is the very constitution of the human mind, that its desires progress in a ratio proportioned to the increase of its acquisitions; and in no respect is this more observable than in its efforts after freedom. Restraints are always irksome, but restraints on one portion of the community, from which the other are exempt, become doubly so from comparison; it therefore follows from the very nature of things, that the free people of color must be discontented with their situation, and will embrace the first favorable opportunity of attaining all the privileges enjoyed by the whites, and from which, with deep regret, they see themselves cut off. The efforts of men to obtain any given object are always proportioned to the animation of their hopes or the energy of their despair. The hopes of the free negroes will increase with their numbers, and when they shall have equalled the whites, which it can easily be shown will happen before many years are passed, they will expect and claim all the privileges, rights and immunities of citizens, which if denied them, as they must be, they will be driven by despair to obtain by force what cannot be

effected in any other way; and then, indeed, will the evil have become of such magnitude as will render it almost impossible to remove it. This naturally leads us to the inquiry of what is the actual, and what is the relative increase of the free persons of color. To simplify the calculation, let us take the increase for the last ten years; In eighteen hundred and ten, there were one thousand six hundred (1680) and eighty free persons of color in the Parishes of St. Michaels and St. Philips; in eighteen hundred and twenty, but ten years afterwards, they had increased to three thousand (3062) and sixty two; in the same period, the whites had only increased from 13,007 to 14,958, so that whilst the whites increased only a little more than 14 per cent, the free people of color increased about 85 per cent. or, in other words, the whites in ten years have increased about (1/7) one seventh, and the free people of color have nearly doubled–Should the free people of color increase for the next thirty years as they have done for the last ten, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty, they will amount to 18,402, whilst the whites will only have amounted to 21,824; so that in thirty years, the whites in the Parishes of St. Philip and St. Michaels will exceed the free persons of color only by 3,422, whilst at this moment they exceed them by 11,896.

This calculation, however, is made upon the most favorable principles for the whites–for if we judge from the evidence afforded by the last ten years, the ratio of increase among the whites is diminishing, whilst that of the free persons of color is increasing.

But there are other causes which must operate upon these relative numbers, and must render the free persons of color in a few years more numerous than the

whites—at the same time evincing how dangerous this class must prove, if suffered to remain among us.

The Free people will never emigrate; they have so little to hope for, and so much to dread, from any change of place, that they will adhere to the spot of their nativity, under the pressure of any inconvenience, rather than seek to improve their condition in distant countries. As they multiply, they are bred up to the mechanical arts, or perform such labor as is usually performed by the poorer class of whites; of course they must come in competition with this class, and before the lapse of many years, the quantity of labor will greatly exceed the demand, and employment must be sought where the demand is greater—one class must therefore emigrate; but the free people of color will not emigrate; consequently the whites must; so that as the free people of color are extending their lines, the whites are contracting theirs. This is not mere speculation, but a fact sufficiently exemplified already. Every winter, considerable number of Germans, Swiss and Scotch arrive in Charleston, with the avowed intention of settling among us, but are soon induced to emigrate towards the west, by perceiving most of the mechanical arts performed by free persons of color. Thus we learn, that the existence of this class among us, is in the highest degree detrimental to our safety.

But in another point of view, the residence of free negroes among us, is pregnant with evils, evils arising from the influence which the existence of such a class of persons must have upon our slave system.

The superior condition of the free persons of color, excites discontent among our slaves, who continually have before their eyes, persons of the same color, many of whom they have known in slavery, and with all of

whom they associate on terms of equality–freed from the control of masters, working where they please, going whither they please, and expending their money how they please–the slave seeing this, finds his labor irksome; he becomes dissatisfied with his state, he pants after liberty! A liberty he can never hope to acquire by purchase or faithful services, for the Legislature has deemed it expedient to close the door against emancipation, his only chance for freedom is to combine with others and endeavor to incite an insurrection; an insurrection which offers to the free colored man as many temptations as to the slave–for as the slave is desirous of being on equality with him, so he likewise is desirous of being placed on the same footing with the whites. It is therefore the interest of the free persons of color, to cherish a spirit of discontent among the slaves, as they hope to avail themselves of their assistance to promote their own schemes of ambition. There is identity of interest between the slave and the free person of color, whilst there is none between the latter class and the whites; but there is not only an identity of interest, but also an identity of feeling among the colored people of both descriptions–they are associated by color, connected by marriages, and by friendships, Many of the free negroes have parents, brothers, sisters and children, who are slaves; should an insurrection occur, they would have every inducement to join it; they would be distrustful of the whites, and the whites would be naturally distrustful of them; they would therefore carry over to slaves their intelligence and numbers, and would serve as channels for communication between slaves of the different portions of the state. But it may be remarked, that in the late projected insurrection, very few of the free people of color were engaged–let it

however, not be forgotten, that Denmark Vesey was a free person; he who projected and planned the insurrection; who was the leader of the conspirators, and the most active in collecting the materials.– Had he not been free, it would have been impossible for him to communicate so extensively with the slaves in the country, without whose co-operation, the slaves in the city would not have dared to make the attempt to emancipate themselves.

But it is said, great inconvenience will result to the free persons of color, and we ought not to inflict so much distress on an innocent race of persons. Your memorialists are aware of the inconvenience to which the free persons of color will be subjected if compelled to emigrate. But they are sensible that a partial evil must frequently be tolerated for the promotion of the general welfare, and the only inquiry to be made is, whether the good to be received by the state, exceeds any evil which can possibly arise to the free people of color. Now your memorialists conceive there is no comparison between them; the evils which the free people of color will experience, must in its very nature, be temporary. In a few years they will have acquired new habits, found out new channels of industry, and formed new connections–whilst those remaining amongst us, will be a source of continual apprehension to the whites; of continual discontent to the slaves, and sooner or later, the inevitable cause of a disastrous and bloody commotion in our state.

It becomes us, however painful it may prove, to sacrifice feeling to reason, and mistaken compassion to a stern policy, and expel from our territory every free person of color, that we may extinguish at once every gleam of hope which the slaves may indulge of

ever being free—and that we may proceed to govern them on the only principle that can maintain slavery, the "principle of fear."

2nd, your Memorialists are decidedly of opinion, that the number of negroes to be hired out, should be limited by law, and that no negro should be allowed to work as a mechanic unless under the immediate control and inspection of his master. By far the greater portion of negroes who work out, are released in a considerable degree from the controul of their masters—laboring or forbearing to labour, as their interest or inclination prompts, rendering unto their owners, only a monthly account; and provided they but settle the wages with punctuality are permitted to regulate their own conduct; the consequence is, they assemble together whenever they wish, and having their time at their own disposal, can be convened at any given and fixed period, and having regular and stated meetings, can originate, prepare and mature their own plans for insurrection. Whereas, the slaves who are kept in the yards of their masters, are immediately under their eyes, and cannot fix upon a period for assembling—they know not at what hour they may be called for by their owners, or for how long a period they may obtain leave of absence—they cannot, therefore, act in concert and "concert is the very life of a conspiracy."

But there is another consideration. The facility of obtaining work is not always the same. At one period the demand for labor is considerable; at another the demand is comparatively small; the consequence is, the labor of the slaves hired out is very irregular, and a quantity of time is consumed in idleness. Irregularity of habits is thus acquired; this irregularity produces restlessness of disposition, which delights in mischief

and detests quiet. The same remarks will apply to the negro mechanics, who having a stated portion of labor to perform, are masters of the remainder of the day, when the work is ended. The time in the evenings, and on the Sabbath is so entirely at their disposal, that the most ample opportunity is afforded of forming combinations and devising schemes. Should a law be passed limiting the number of slaves to be hired out and confining the exercise of the mechanical arts to white persons (except in the cases above specified,) the result will be that a large portion of the black population now in the city, will be removed into the country, and their places be supplied by white laborers from Europe and the Northern States. In this manner we will exchange a dangerous portion of our population for a sound and healthy class of persons "whose feelings will be our feelings, and whose interests our interests."

The late intended Insurrection forcibly proves the truth of the above remarks; for with a very few exceptions, the negroes engaged in that conspiracy were mechanics or persons working out. Great inconvenience, perhaps even considerable misery, may be experienced by many worthy citizens, who at present are maintained by the hire of their slaves. But to obtain important objects by effecting considerable change or reform, great sacrifices must be made, and great difficulties encountered. This is an affair in which temporizing expedients will avail nothing. We must meet the difficulties with resolution, and overcome them by the most vigorous and determined course of action. They are difficulties which, if eluded now, will meet us again in their progress, multiply and crowd upon us until we are involved in confusion and disorder.

3rd. Your memorialists also recommend to the

Legislature to prescribe the mode in which our persons of color shall dress.–Their apparel has become so expensive as to tempt the slaves to dishonesty; to give them ideas not consistent with their conditions; to render them insolent to the whites, and so fond of parade and show as to cause it extremely difficult to keep them at home. Your memorialists therefore recommend that they be permitted to dress only in coarse stuffs, such as coarse woolens or worsted stuffs for winter–and coarse cotton stuffs for summer–felt hats, and coarse cotton handkerchiefs. Every distinction should be created between the whites and the negroes, calculated to make the latter feel the superiority of the former. It is not the intention of your memorialists to embrace in these sumptuary regulations "livery servants," as liveries however costly, are still badges of servitude. The object is to prevent the slaves from wearing silks, satins, crapes, lace, muslins, and such costly stuffs, as are looked upon and considered the luxury of dress.

4th. The next topic to which your memorialists would invite the attention of the Legislature, is the organization of a regular, efficient military force, in lieu of the City Guard, as at present constituted. The City Guard, as now organized, are of little benefit to the city. Most of them are shop-keepers or retailers of spirituous liquors to the negroes. It is therefore their interest and it is notorious that this interest induces them to permit such of the negroes as are their customers, to pass unmolested through our streets after the bell has rung, and the watch has set. Independently of this circumstance, the members of the Guard are employed in some occupation throughout the day, and when night comes are totally incapacitated from serving as sentinels. In such a city as ours, where there is a

large slave population, we should be extremely vigilant; a regular well disciplined force, well officered, and distinct from the body of the citizens, generally, should be kept on duty night and day. It is of equal importance to the city and country that such a body be organized, for insurrections, though they may break out on the plantations, must necessarily have their origin in the city. We should always act as if we had an enemy in the very bosom of the State, prepared to rise upon and surprise the whites, whenever an opportunity be afforded.

5th. It is further recommended by your memorialists that a law be passed, preventing persons of color from holding real property. Many of them are becoming rich, and some of them are already owners of plantations. It is impossible to calculate the evil which may arise from any number of these people possessing extensive plantations. Living in the country, they must, in a great measure, be removed from the vigilance of the whites. They can harbour any number of runaway negroes; their plantations may become the rendezvous of the desperate and discontented among the slaves, and having within themselves the means of support, they may carry on their schemes of destruction, without any likelihood of detection. Neither should they possess real estate in the city, as it will enable them to become landlords to many white persons, who lease from them lands and houses. *Now* the laws respecting landlords and tenants are such, that unless the tenant be punctual in the payment of his rents, it places great power in the hands of the landlord,—a power which should never be permitted to those who, by the laws and policy of our State, are considered a degraded and inferior class.

6th. Your memorialists have viewed with deep

regret the influx into Carolina of slaves from the middle states. These slaves are of the most worthless and abandoned characters, taken out of the jails and houses of correction; the greater portion are criminals, whose punishments are commuted into banishment. Yet this degraded and villainous body of negroes are continually pouring in upon us—mingling with our colored population, and contaminating the minds of our most valuable domestics. Your memorialists therefore most earnestly entreat the Legislature to make the bringing of slaves into our state highly penal.

7th. It is deemed requisite to prevent negroes from residing upon premises where no white persons reside. It is our policy to place the slaves under the inspection of their masters as much as possible, and every care should be taken to prevent their associating and leagueing together.

8th. Your memorialists consider the laws now in force, so far as they relate to white persons concerned in insurrections of the slaves, extremely defective, as those laws only extend to white persons assisting the negroes in a state of actual insurrection—whereas it is equally criminal to incite the slaves to insurrection. Your memorialists therefore recommend that the laws now in force be so far amended as to subject to the punishment of death all white persons who shall be principals, advisers or abettors in any actual or projected insurrection of the slaves.

And we recommend that a law be passed, prohibiting under severe penalties, all persons from teaching negroes to read and write.

With these observations and recommendations, it remains only to add the hopes of your memorialists, that on a subject of such deep and extensive concern, such

measures may be adopted as are calculated to afford protection to our property and security for our lives.

(b) Editorial from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Dec. 23, 1856.

NEGRO INSURRECTIONS. We have refrained from giving our readers any of the accounts of contemplated negro insurrections that have been lately discovered in the South Western States, and even in Virginia and South Carolina. It is a delicate subject to touch, but it would be criminal to keep the public in ignorance of matters so vitally important. It is the right of every man to know when such a danger is at hand, and it is his duty to provide effectually against it. Better be a little too cautious than to suffer from overweening confidence.

Patrols should sweep through every county in Georgia, between this and New Year, and all assemblages of negroes be dispersed. The patrol system is an excellent one, and our friends in the country could see to it at once, that efficient bodies of men be dispatched through their neighborhoods to look after suspicious characters. Our city police should keep a strict watch upon the movements of the negroes during the Xmas holidays, and particularly at night, provide against all assemblages of negroes. These precautionary steps are called for, by events that have lately transpired in neighboring and other Southern States, showing well concerted plans among the negroes in some localities, to rise in insurrection during Xmas. Forewarned is forearmed.

(c) Editorial from the *Southern Watchman* (Athens, Ga.), Jan. 1, 1857.

NEGRO INSURRECTION. We believe our citizens have generally recovered from the "fright" into which some

of them were thrown by the report that an attempt at insurrection was to be made by the negroes throughout the South during the Christmas holidays. We were not amongst those who apprehended any danger. First, because the great mass of the negroes are well treated and are so much "better off" than the whites, that they have no excuse for making such an attempt; and, secondly, because they in common with the whites, know that the present state of affairs is better for the interest of both races; and furthermore, that an attempt at insurrection would not only signally fail of its object, but result in the immediate massacre of every African concerned in it.

While on this subject, it may not be improper to remark that negroes enjoy too much latitude here. We would not abridge one iota of their comforts, but most of them enjoy greater freedom than their masters. This is not only impolitic, but absolutely dangerous. Let the physical, moral and religious wants of "Sambo" be supplied—let him be treated with the greatest humanity, but let him be made to remember that he is subject to a "higher law" than his own will.

Some further legislation is needed on this subject. The residence of free negroes among slaves is incompatible with the public safety. Let the next Legislature abate this nuisance; and, while their hand is in, let them pass more stringent laws in reference to negroes hiring their own time.

4. VIOLENCE TOWARD MASTERS AND OVERSEERS

(a) News item from the Bermuda Islands, printed in the Charleston (S.C.) *Evening Gazette,* July 12, 1785.

. . . We learn from Providence that a negro belonging to Mr. Barron, having eloped, such a pursuit

was made after him that he thought proper to return. It is the practice of runaway slaves in Providence to besmear themselves with grease, so that it is almost impossible for their pursuers to hold them; thus besmeared, and armed with a large knife, Mr. Barron received information of the slave being in the negro quarters; as it was determined that he should be punished, his master, Mr. Car and Mr. McKennon went into the quarters to secure him. Two of the company went into the quarters, whilst Mr. Car guarded the door; the fellow being thus at bay, made a desperate effort to get away, but being seized by Mr. Car, he drew a concealed knife, and stabbed the unhappy gentleman to the heart so that he instantly died. Mr. McKinnon pursued him, and would have secured him but for the greasy condition of his skin; in struggling with him he received several gashes, some of them so well directed that if the knife had not been previously blunted in stabbing the other gentleman, he must inevitably have fallen; assistance providentially coming up, the fellow was secured, and brought to a summary trial, where he received sentence to suffer death. He was immediately led to execution, and had his hand struck off, which he bore with an indignant firmness, but his mutilated bleeding stump being immersed in boiling pitch, he appeared to feel the torments of the damned, he was now thrown into the hot pitch and then hanged. Humanity recoils and sickens at such a horrid scene, the crime was great; so was the punishment.

(b) News item from the Georgia *Gazette* (Savannah), Dec. 7, 1774.

From St. Andrew's Parish we have the following melancholy account, viz. That on Tuesday morning the 29th ult. six new Negro fellows and four wenches, belonging to Capt. Morris, killed the Overseer in the

field, after which they went to the house, murdered his wife, and dangerously wounded a carpenter named Wright, also a boy who died next day; they then proceeded to the house of Angus McIntosh, whom they likewise dangerously wounded; and being there joined by a sensible fellow, the property of said McIntosh, they went to the house of Roderick M'Leod, wounded him very much, and killed his son, who had fired upon them on their coming up and broke the arm of the fellow who had joined them. Their leader and McIntosh's negro have been taken and burnt, and two of the wenches have returned to the plantation.

(c) News item from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), May 26, 1857.

MURDER BY NEGROES. We learn from the Georgia *Citizen,* of the 19th inst., that the overseer of the Dougherty plantation of Wm. S. Holt, Esq., of Bibb County, was brutally killed last week, by two or three of Mr. Holt's negroes. It is stated that the overseer was about to chastise one of the negroes for misconduct, when he broke away and ran for an adjacent swamp. The overseer took two other negroes and started in pursuit, but it seems that the latter joined in the murder when they overtook the runaway. The body of the overseer was buried with his gun in the swamp, and subsequently found with his bowels ripped open. The negroes have confessed to the murder. Mr. Holt has gone down to the plantation to investigate the matter, and will, doubtless, use his best efforts to bring the perpetrators of the diabolical deed to that punishment which their crime deserves.

(d) News item from the New Orleans *Bee,* March 6, 1845.

MURDER. The Shreveport (Caddo) *Gazette* of the 26th. ult., says: A most shocking murder occurred in

our parish on Monday last at the mill of Mr. Cutliff. The superintendent of the mill, a Mr. Scott, attempted to chastise, as we have learned, a negro fellow belonging to Mr. Cutliff, when the negro seizing a frower knocked him down, and repeated his blows, until he was not only dead, but his skull completely shattered. The negro has been brought to this place, and safely lodged in jail to await his trial. Instances of this kind are becoming quite frequent. It was only a few months since that a negro was hanged in Greenwood for attempting the life of his overseer; and but a few weeks or so since in the adjoining county of Harrison, Texas, a Mr. Wilson met with the most distressing death by the hands of his own slaves. Now that our slave population is increasing so rapidly, we think it high time, and absolutely necessary for our safety, that our Police Jury should take warning from these frequent acts of turbulency, and establish an efficient patrol.

5. POISONING

News item from Raleigh, N.C., dated May 17, and printed in the Baton Rouge (La.) *Republic*, July 23, 1822.

SHOCKING OCCURRENCE. Some negroes of the family of Gen. G. L. Davidson, Iredell county, in this state, unwilling to go to Alabama with the General and his family, who were about to remove there, took the desperate resolution of destroying them by poison, and shocking to relate, effected their purpose on two of the General's daughters (Mrs. Simonton and Mrs. Falls,) while their husbands were absent looking for suitable lands for settlement in a new state.

The poison used, it is believed, was Hemlock, which was furnished by an old negro in the adjoining county of Cabbarus, and had been tried some months before

the proper dose was given, to effect the horrid purpose. This has been since ascertained from the frequent sickness of the two ladies, which could not, at the time be accounted for. It is said a dose was ready for the General himself, the administering of which was prevented by the discovery of the horrid plot. Five negroes concerned in this affair, are at present in confinement in Iredell jail.

6. ARSON

Editorial from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), March 20, 1855.

PLANTATION FIRES. We hear of great loss to planters in Georgia and South Carolina from the fires of March 9th. In this county much damage was done to fenceing and wood lands and some injury to growing crops. In Hancock it will be seen from an article elsewhere in our columns, that much damage was occasioned. We hear of similar reports from Clarke and Washington Counties. In the latter county, Mr. Green B. Cummings was burned out of house and home, haveing nothing left on his premises but the well curb. And many persons were seriously injured by their great efforts to stay the devouring element.

7. RAPE

(a) News item from the New Orleans *Bee*, Sept. 27, 1842.

HORRIBLE OUTRAGE. One of the most atrocious outrages we have ever heard of was committed a few weeks since in the parish of Rapides, by a negro on the person of a young orphan girl, 14 years old. She was seized by the miscreant while paying a visit to one of her relations, dragged into the woods, beaten most unmercifully, and then treated–in the most infamous manner. The poor creature was picked up, some time after, in a state of insensibility, but recovered sufficiently to relate

the above facts. She died the next day after horrible suffering.

The murderer has been apprehended.

(b) Advertisement from the Elkton (Md.) *Press*, July 19, 1828.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD. Ran away from the subscriber, living near Cantwell's Bridge, Newcastle county, state of Delaware. Negro George Anderson, about 21 or 22 years of age, middle size, rather stout built, large eyes, shows the white of them a good deal, large under lip and mouth, and rather light colored for a negro–has been accustomed to the care of horses, and driving a carriage, he is also a good farm hand–wears his hair generally combed up on the top of his head and platted–speaks slow–had on a pair of good white corderoy pantaloons, blue domestic stripe roundabout, fur hat, muslin shirt with George in durable ink written on it, and laced boots. A few days before he absconded he attempted to commit a rape upon a young female of his own color, the punishment for which has caused his running off. One hundred dollars reward will be paid upon delivering him to the subscriber, or lodging him in jail, so that he may be recovered. He has probably gone to Pennsylvania, having been several times in Philadelphia. JOS. B. SIMS.

8. PETITION FOR A SLAVE'S PARDON

Letter of William Ramsay, June 20, 1792, to the Governor of Virginia, printed in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, vol. v, 600.

The indifference of the master here indicated was an effect of the law compensating masters for the loss of slaves when put to death by legal process.

Sir: A young Negro, a valuable Tradesman in this Town, is condemned to die on the 10th of next month. His master employed no Attorney, and it is the general

opinion he has a much greater regard for the high value set upon his Negro than for Life. From our long friendship, I petition you to pardon him. Grant my request and highly oblige, Your sincere friend.

9. RECORDS OF SLAVE TRIALS

Abstract of the court record of the trials of slaves for felonies in Baldwin County, Ga., from 1812 to 1832, printed in the American Historical Association *Report for 1903*, vol. i, 462-464.

November 12, 1812: The State *v.* Major, a slave, the property of John Neeves, on the charge of rape. Verdict of guilty. Sentence of hanging.

January 11, 1815: The State *v.* Fannie Micklejohn, a slave, the property of the heirs of William Micklejohn. Charged with murdering an infant. Verdict of not guilty.

April 18, 1815: The State *v.* Tom, a slave, the property of Joseph Andrews. Charged with murdering a slave and adjudged guilty. Sentenced to be branded on each cheek with the letter M, to have 39 lashes laid on his bare back forthwith in the market place and be remanded to jail, to receive 39 lashes on April 19 and be remanded to jail until April 20; then to receive 39 lashes more and be discharged.

November 21, 1816: The State *v.* John, a slave, the property of William McGehee, charged with stealing a $100 bill. Verdict of guilty. Sentenced to receive 39 lashes on the bare back three days in succession.

July 31, 1818: The State *v.* Aleck, a slave, the property of James Thomas, charged with assault with intent to murder. The prisoner pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to receive 50 lashes well laid on the bare back with a cow-skin whip three days in succession.

February 17, 1819: The State *v.* Rodney, a slave,

the property of Maj. John A. Jones, charged with arson. The prisoner was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged.

April 28, 1821: The State *v.* Peter, a slave, the property of Eden Taylor, charged with the murder of a slave. Was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to be branded on the right cheek with the letter M, and to receive 39 lashes on three successive days.

October 22, 1821: The State *v.* Edmund, a slave, the property of Ann Carlton, charged with involuntary manslaughter. It appearing that the prisoner had been charged with no crime of which the court had cognizance, it was ordered that he be forthwith discharged.

January 19, 1822: The State *v.* Davis, or Dave, a slave, the property of William Johns, charged with assault with intent to kill a white person. Verdict of guilty. Sentence not recorded.

No date: The State *v.* John, a slave, the property of William Robertson, charged with burglary. Found guilty but recommended to mercy. Sentenced to be branded on the right cheek with the letter T, and to be given 39 lashes on three successive days.

On the same day this same slave, John, was sentenced to be hanged for assaulting a white man with intent to kill.

December 5, 1825: The State *v.* George, a slave, the property of John D. Ponder, charged with burglary. The offense charged was the breaking into the house of a white man, John Dumer, of Milledgeville, and stealing goods to the value of $150. Verdict of guilty with recommendation to mercy. Sentence of hanging.

December 5, 1825: The State *v.* Stephen, a slave, the property of Israel T. Jordan, charged with assault with intent to kill a free white man. Found guilty and sentenced to hanging.

March 15, 1826: The State *v.* Elleck, a slave, the property of Andrew Elliott, charged with assault with intent to commit murder and rape. Verdict, guilty of assault with intent to kill. Sentence, hanging.

July 12, 1828: The State *v.* George, a slave, the property of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, charged with larceny from the house. Verdict of not guilty.

July 8, 1829: The State *v.* Caroline, a slave, the property of Robert B. Washington, charged with maiming a free white person. Verdict of not guilty.

May 21, 1832: The State *v.* Martin, a slave, the property of Farish Carter, charged with assault with intent to murder. The prisoner pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to 39 lashes on three successive days.

XIII. NEGRO QUALITIES

1. NEGRO NATIONALITIES AND CHARACTERISTICS

Extract from *Practical Rules for the Management and Medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies,* by a Professional Planter (London, 1803), part 1, chap. i.

The African negroes, being brought from an extensive range of continent, occupying many degrees of latitude, diversified by soils of unequal fecundity, and influenced by moral and physical systems, possesses great varieties of character; some being addicted to agriculture, some to war, some to the chace; and every other active exertion, whilst others, more supine, content themselves with the spontaneous productions of nature, and pass languid and monotonous lives; equally averse from, and incapable of, toil, and indulging only in those propensities to which nature incites the animal.

The value, therefore, of each of these tribes for the purposes of slavery, must be deduced from the natural habit, though it is frequently difficult to ascertain from what country they have been drawn; neither their languages, nor their cicatrices, affording certain indications in that respect, as both are acquired by aliens, whether prisoners of war, or the slaves of rapine.

The inhabitants of the gold coast being habituated from infancy to war, the necessary movements of which give flexibility to the muscles, and energy to the mind, are by far the most hardy and robust; yet bringing with them into slavery lofty ideas of independence, they are dangerous inmates on a West India plantation, when

brought, as good subjects are frequently found in cargoes of the worst reputation, and bad ones in those of the best. The country, therefore, forms only a presumptive evidence of quality, which may mislead, but is generally found so well supported by experience, as to occasion a variation of the prices of cargoes, of from eight to ten pounds a head.

The kingdom of Gaboon is to be excepted from that rule; for, from thence, a good negro was scarcely ever brought. They are purchased so cheaply on the coast as to tempt many captains to freight with them; but they generally die, either on the passage, or soon after their arrival in the islands. The debility of their constitutions is astonishing to those who have considered the analogies of the human frame, which are diversified only by sensible local causes; but the Gaboons are anomalies in nature; and it is to be lamented that any of them should be brought from Africa, as they may be looked upon as victims of the first purpose of commerce, without contributing in the least to its ulterior stages by their labours in agriculture. Indeed, the objection to them is so strong, that they are seldom bought, but by persons ignorant of their defects, or by those who have been deceived by a false declaration of their country. The gentlemen who have attached themselves to the abolition of the slave trade, would do well to commence their reform by obtaining a law for the suppression of this part of the traffic, which would injure nobody.

The best negroes that we know are the Whidaws and Papaws. The Aradas, and other tribes, from the kingdom of Judda, are said to be still better; but their importation is not very great anywhere; and what few there are, pass to the French, and they, indeed, speak very highly of their qualities.

The Whidaws and Papaws are better known to us, though before the late war, very few even of them were brought to the English Islands. From what we now know of them, we are enabled to say that they cannot be too highly appreciated.

Besides the negroes above particularized, there are of various other nations drawn from the interior of that extensive continent, with names unknown to geographers, who are to be met with in almost every cargo that comes from the coast. They generally pass as of the country nearest to the port at which they were embarked; and frequently, from their residence there, acquire both the language and the distinguishing marks. They, therefore, who are desirous of having negroes of a particular country, should carry with them into the Guinea-Yards a sensible negro of that country, who, by interrogating them in their own language, may be able to determine whether they are really what they appear to be; and pains should be taken to discover whether they have any personal defects which impair their value, if they do not render them entirely unfit for your purpose. The yaws and ruptures are known by inspection and other complaints, which are less manifest, such as fits and insanity, may be learned, by inquiring of their shipmates.

I cannot undertake to say, from a variety of considerations affecting the negroes themselves who are produced for sale at the African markets, whether it would be proper to oblige the European traders to confine their purchases to subjects of a certain age; because there is evidence to support the suspicion, that if any of them were to be rejected, and to be left on the hands of the black dealers, they would be disposed of in a manner more shocking to humanity, than by bringing them

brought, as good subjects are frequently found in cargoes of the worst reputation, and bad ones in those of the best. The country, therefore, forms only a presumptive evidence of quality, which may mislead, but is generally found so well supported by experience, as to occasion a variation of the prices of cargoes, of from eight to ten pounds a head.

The kingdom of Gaboon is to be excepted from that rule; for, from thence, a good negro was scarcely ever brought. They are purchased so cheaply on the coast as to tempt many captains to freight with them; but they generally die, either on the passage, or soon after their arrival in the islands. The debility of their constitutions is astonishing to those who have considered the analogies of the human frame, which are diversified only by sensible local causes; but the Gaboons are anomalies in nature; and it is to be lamented that any of them should be brought from Africa, as they may be looked upon as victims of the first purpose of commerce, without contributing in the least to its ulterior stages by their labours in agriculture. Indeed, the objection to them is so strong, that they are seldom bought, but by persons ignorant of their defects, or by those who have been deceived by a false declaration of their country. The gentlemen who have attached themselves to the abolition of the slave trade, would do well to commence their reform by obtaining a law for the suppression of this part of the traffic, which would injure nobody.

The best negroes that we know are the Whidaws and Papaws. The Aradas, and other tribes, from the kingdom of Judda, are said to be still better; but their importation is not very great anywhere; and what few there are, pass to the French, and they, indeed, speak very highly of their qualities.

The Whidaws and Papaws are better known to us, though before the late war, very few even of them were brought to the English Islands. From what we now know of them, we are enabled to say that they cannot be too highly appreciated.

Besides the negroes above particularized, there are of various other nations drawn from the interior of that extensive continent, with names unknown to geographers, who are to be met with in almost every cargo that comes from the coast. They generally pass as of the country nearest to the port at which they were embarked; and frequently, from their residence there, acquire both the language and the distinguishing marks. They, therefore, who are desirous of having negroes of a particular country, should carry with them into the Guinea-Yards a sensible negro of that country, who, by interrogating them in their own language, may be able to determine whether they are really what they appear to be; and pains should be taken to discover whether they have any personal defects which impair their value, if they do not render them entirely unfit for your purpose. The yaws and ruptures are known by inspection and other complaints, which are less manifest, such as fits and insanity, may be learned, by inquiring of their shipmates.

I cannot undertake to say, from a variety of considerations affecting the negroes themselves who are produced for sale at the African markets, whether it would be proper to oblige the European traders to confine their purchases to subjects of a certain age; because there is evidence to support the suspicion, that if any of them were to be rejected, and to be left on the hands of the black dealers, they would be disposed of in a manner more shocking to humanity, than by bringing them

to the sugar colonies, where they have, at least, a chance for life, and of as much happiness as they enjoyed in their own country. With respect to the interest of the colonies, it would certainly be better to admit none above the age of five and twenty, for reasons sufficiently obvious.

Of the great number of more advanced adults, some of whom are superannuated and hoary with age, that are now imported into the islands, not one half survive the fourth year of their transportation; and even those who do survive, are soon broken down by the change of climate, and food, and unaccustomed exertion. When they arrive from the coast, they are literally fattened for the market; and being exhibited for sale with all the embellishments that the toilet of an African ship can supply, they easily captivate some inexperienced planter, who, either misjudging their age, or whose necessities being urgent, lead him to make choice of robust people, without considering that they are at their acme, and will soon be on the decline—a short experience opens his eyes to his mistake; for their strength is very soon exhausted; it disappears with their fat, and, in a few months, if they live so long, they vary so much from their former appearance, by the reproduction of their beards, and their emaciated bodies, that they are scarcely to be known again. They are perverse and indolent, and rarely acquire so much of the language as to be intelligible. They are attacked with chigoes, and harrassed with ulcers, from which they are scarcely recovered, and, in some measures, initiated into the habits of their new life, when old age comes upon them, and they sink into decrepitude without having well known maturity; in which condition, the service they are capable of rendering to an estate, is very inconsiderable indeed.

The consumption of slaves of this description, is so great, as to account for a large part of the immense drafts made annually from the coast of Africa; therefore, if their importation could be prohibited, without endangering the consequences above alluded to, it certainly ought; for, beyond five and twenty is too late in every point of view, for a negro to quit his old habits and connexions, and to commence an apprenticeship to labour.

From fifteen to twenty-five is an age fit for immediate service, and affords scope for duration; therefore, these are the negroes that ought to be preferred for new settlements; for much will be expected from them, and they are enabled to do much; but if, in the course of their labour, they contract complaints, and fall off, yet, by repose and proper treatment, they soon recover.

But the planter whose occasions are not very pressing, and who wishes only to secure recruits for the service of a future day, will find it for his interest to buy only small boys and girls in equal numbers. They can scarcely be too small; for, though they are incapable of doing much work, they will do enough to pay for their maintenance, and they are, comparatively, in little danger of dying; for their juvenile minds entertain no regrets for the loss of their connexions. They acquire the English language with great ease, and improve daily in size, understanding, and capacity for labour, so as to afford a good prospect of their lasting, not only your time, but long after, to render much service to those who are to succeed you. . .

2. OBSERVATIONS BY AN ENGLISHMAN IN JAMAICA

Extracts from M. G. Lewis's *Journal of a West India Proprietor* (London, 1834), *passim*. Observations in January and March, 1815.

Jan. 6, [1815]. This was the day given to my negroes

as a festival on my arrival. A couple of heifers were slaughtered for them: they were allowed as much rum, and sugar, and noise, and dancing as they chose; and as to the two latter, certainly they profited by the permission. About two o'clock they began to assemble round the house, all drest in their holiday clothes, which, both for men and women, were chiefly white; only that the women were decked out with a profusion of beads and corals, and gold ornaments of all descriptions; and that while the blacks wore jackets, the mulattoes generally wore cloth coats; and inasmuch as they were all plainly clean instead of being shabbily fashionable, and affected to be nothing except that which they really were, they looked twenty times more like gentlemen than nine tenths of the bankers' clerks who swagger up and down Bond Street. It is a custom as to the mulatto children, that the males born on an estate should never be employed as field negroes, but as tradesmen: the females are brought up as domestics about the house. . .

Nor can the separation of castes in India be more rigidly observed, than that of complexional shades among the Creoles. My black page, Cubina, is married: I told him that I hoped he had married a pretty woman; why had he not married Mary Wiggins? He seemed quite shocked at the very idea. "Oh, massa, me black, Mary Wiggins sambo; that not allowed. . ."

Jan. 13. As far as I can as yet judge, if I were now standing on the banks of Virgil's Lethe, with a goblet of waters of oblivion in my hand, and asked whether I chose to enter life anew as an English labourer or a Jamaica negro, I should have no hesitation in preferring the latter. For myself, it appears to me almost worth surrendering the luxuries and pleasures of Great Britain, for the single pleasure of being surrounded with

beings who are always laughing and singing, and who seem to perform their work with so much nonchalance, taking up their baskets as if it were perfectly optional whether they took them up or left them there; sauntering along with their hands dangling; stopping to chat with every one they meet; or if they meet no one, standing still to look round, and examine whether there is nothing to be seen that can amuse them, so that I can hardly persuade myself that it is really *work* that they are about. The negro might well say, on his arrival in England–"Massa, in England, every thing work." for here nobody appears to work at all.

I am told that there is one part of their business very laborious, the digging holes for receiving the cane-plants, and which I have not as yet seen; but this does not occupy above a month (I believe) at the utmost, at two periods of the year; and on my estate this service is chiefly performed by extra negroes, hired for the purpose; which, although equally hard on the hired negroes (called a jobbing gang) at least relieves my own, and after all, puts even the former on much the same footing with English day-labourers. . .

Jan. 21. The hospital has been crowded, since my arrival, with patients who have nothing the matter with them. On Wednesday there were about thirty invalids, of whom only four were cases at all serious; the rest had "a lilly pain here, Massa," or "a bad pain me know nowhere, Massa," and evidently came to the hospital in order to sit idle and chat away the time with their friends. Four of them the doctor ordered into the field peremptorily; the next day there came into the sick-house six others; upon this I resolved to try my own hand at curing them; and I directed the head-driver to announce, that the presents which I had brought from

England should be distributed to-day, that the newborn children should be christened, and that the negroes might take possession of my house and amuse themselves till twelve at night. The effect of my prescription was magical; two thirds of the sick were hale and hearty, at work in the field on Saturday morning, and to-day not a soul remained in the hospital except the four serious cases. . .

Jan. 22. On the other hand, there are some choice ungrateful scoundrels among the negroes: On the night of their first dance, a couple of sheep disappeared from the pen, although they could not have been taken from want of food, as on that very morning there had been an ample distribution of fresh beef; and last night another sheep and a quantity of poultry followed them. Yesterday, too, a young rascal of a boy called "Massa Jackey," who is in the frequent habit of running away for months at a time, and whom I had distinguished from the cleverness of his countenance and buffoonery of his manners, came to beg my permission to go and purchase food with some money I had just given him, "because he was almost starving; his parents were dead, he had no provision grounds, no allowance, and nobody ever gave him anything." Upon this I sent Cubina with the boy to the store-keeper, when it appeared that he had always received a regular allowance of provisions twice a week, which he generally sold, as well as his clothes, at the Bay, for spirits; had received an additional portion only last Friday; and, into the bargain, during the whole of that week, had been fed from the house. What he could propose to himself by telling a lie which must be so soon detected, I cannot conceive; but I am assured, that unless a negro has an interest in telling the truth, he always lies—in order to keep his tongue in practice. . .

Jan. 30. It appears to me that nothing could afford so much relief to the negroes, under the existing system of Jamaica, as the substituting the labour of animals for that of slaves in agriculture, where-ever such a measure is practicable. On leaving the island, I impressed this wish of mine upon the mind of my agents with all my power; but the only result has been the creating a very considerable expense in the purchase of ploughs, oxen, and farming implements; the awkwardness, and still more the obstinacy of the few negroes, whose services were indispensable, was not to be overcome: they broke plough after plough, and ruined beast after beast, till the attempt was abandoned in despair. However, it was made without the most essential ingredient for success, the superintendence of an English ploughman; and such of the ploughs as were of cast-iron, could not be repaired when once broken, and therefore ought not to have been adopted; but I am told, that in several other parts of the island the plough has been introduced, and completely successful. . .

March 4. Since my arrival in Jamaica, I am not conscious of having omitted any means of satisfying my negroes, and rendering them happy and secure from oppression. I have suffered no person to be punished, except the two female demons who almost bit a girl's hands off (for which they received a slight switching) and the most worthless rascal on the estate, whom for manifold offences I was compelled, for the sake of discipline, to allow to pass two days in the bilboes. I have never refused a favor that I could possibly grant. I have listened patiently to all complaints. I have increased the number of negro holidays, and have given away money and presents of all kinds incessantly. Now for my reward. On Saturday morning there were no fewer than

forty-five persons (not including children) in the hospital; which makes nearly a fifth of my whole gang. Of these, the medical people assured me that not above seven had any thing whatever the matter with them; the rest were only feigning sickness out of mere idleness, and in order to sit doing nothing, while their companions were forced to perform their part of the estate-duty. And, sure enough, on Sunday morning they all walked away from the hospital to amuse themselves, except about seven or eight: they will perhaps, go to the field for a couple of days; and on Wednesday we may expect to have them back again, complaining of pains, which (not existing) it is not possible to remove. Jenny, (the girl whose hands were bitten) was told by the doctoress, that having been in the hospital all the week, she ought not, for very shame, go out on Sunday. She answered, "She wanted to go to the mountains, and go she would." "Then," said the doctoress, "you must not come back on Monday at least." "Yes," said Jenny, "she should come back," and back this morning Jenny came. But as her wounds were almost completely well, she had tied packthread round them so as to cut deep into the flesh, had rubbed dirt into them, and, in short, had played such tricks as nearly to produce a mortification in one of her fingers. . . To sum up the whole, about three this morning an alarm was given that the pen-keeper had suffered the cattle to get among the canes, where they might do infinite mischief; the trustee was roused out of his bed; the drivers blew their shells to summon the negroes to their assistance; when it appeared that there was not a single watchman at his post; the watch-fires had all been suffered to expire, not a single domestic was to be found, nor a horse to be procured; even the little servant boys, whom the trustee had

locked up in his own house, and had left fast asleep when he went to bed, had got up again, and made their escape to pass the night in play and rioting; and although they were perfectly aware of the detriment which the cattle were doing to my interests, not a negro could be prevailed upon to rouse himself and help to drive them out, till at length Cubina (who had run down from his house to mine on the first alarm) with difficulty collected about half a dozen to assist him: but long before this, one of my best cane pieces was trampled to pieces, and the produce of this year's crop considerably diminished.–And so much for negro gratitude. However, they still continue their eternal song of "Now massa come, we very well off," but their satisfaction evidently begins and end with themselves. They rejoice sincerely at being very well off, but think it unnecessary to make the slightest return to massa for making them so. . .

March 25. The negroes certainly are perverse beings. They had been praying for a sight of their master year after year; they were in raptures at my arrival; I have suffered no one to be punished, and shown them every possible indulgence during my residence among them; and one and all they declare themselves perfectly happy and well treated. Yet, previous to my arrival, they made thirty-three hogsheads a week; in a fortnight after my landing their product dwindled to twenty-three; during this last week they have managed to make but thirteen. Still they are not ungrateful; they are only selfish: they love me very well, but they love themselves a great deal better; and, to do them justice, I verily believe that every negro on the estate is extremely anxious that all should do their full duty, except himself. My censure, although accompanied with the certainty of

their not being punished, is by no means a matter of indifference. If I express myself to be displeased, the whole property is in an uproar; everybody is finding fault with everybody; nobody that does not represent the shame of neglecting my work, and the ingratitude of vexing me by their ill-conduct; and then each individual having said so much, and said it so strongly, that he is convinced of its having its full effect in making the others do their duty - thinks himself quite safe and snug in skulking away from his own.

3. COTTON BELT NEGROES MORE INTELLIGENT THAN THOSE ON THE COAST

Lyell, Charles. *Second Visit to the United States* (New York, 1829), vol. ii, 19.

I had many opportunities, during this excursion of satisfying my self of the fact for which I had been prepared by the planters on the sea-board, that the intelligence of the colored race increased in the interior and upland country in proportion as they have more intercourse with the whites. This personage[4], conscious of his importance, would begin by enlarging with much self-complacency on the ignorance of his master, who had been in those parts too short a time to understand anything I wished to know. When at length he condescended to come to the point, he could usually give me a clear account of the layers of sand, clay and limestone they had passed through. . . In proportion as these colored people fill places of trust, they are involuntarily treated more as equals by the whites.

[4] In some places, when plantations had changed hands several times in a few years, the estate had remained under the management of some head negro, who was the only one who could answer Lyell's questions upon geology, etc. – Ed.

XIV. FREE PERSONS OF COLOR

1. CERTIFICATES OF FREEDOM

(a) Certificate and testimonial of Moses Handlen's status and character. MS. record copy in Georgia Archives, Department of State, Atlanta, Ga., Deed Book (1780-1781), 236.

This is to satisfy to whom it may concern That this Black Man, Mr. Moses Handlen is Free Man leaft by his Master Mr. Champernown Handlen, deceased in the year of our Lord 1760. This very black Moses Handlen is a very onnis Black Man. I knowed him from a Boy. Witness my hand. GEORGE SMITH.
Witnessed of we three Persons on the 24th January 1761 in South Carolina. HENRY FUTHY, WILLIAM DAVIDSON, GEORGE DAY JUNER.

Examined the foregoing and found the same an Exact Copy of the original. Secy's Off. 13th June 1781.
GEO. D'ERBAGE, Dep. Sec.

(b) An African tourist is granted the freedom of the province of Georgia. MS. copy in Georgia Archives, Deed Book (1772-1775), 14, 15.

[Province of] Georgia.

By his Honor James Habersham Esq[r] President and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's said Province Chancelor vice admiral and ordinary of the same:

Whereas it appears to me by the affidavit of Stephen Deaux Commander of the Snow New Brittania now lying at the port of Charlestown in South Carolina taken the 22d day of this Inst July on Oath Before the Hon[ble] Noble Jones Senior assistant Justice of his Ma-

jesty['s] General Court of the said Province and of Record in the Secretarys office in the said province that Fenda Lawrence a free Black Woman and heretofore a Considerable trader in the River Gambia on the Co [a] st of Africa hath voluntarily come to be and Remain for sometime in this province, and at the request of the said Stephen Deaux–these are therefore to certify and make Known to all to whom it may concern that the said Fenda Lawrence is a free woman and is therefore intitled to ever[y] Priviledge which by Law she aught to have in this province, and I do hereby permit the said Fenda Lawrence to pass and Repass unmolested within the said Province on her Lawfull and necessary occations she Conforming to the Laws thereof.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Savannah in the Province aforesaid the 24th Day of July in the year of our Lord 1772 and in the twelfth year of his Majestys Reign. JAMES HABERSHAM.
Secretarys office By his Honors Command.
Recorded 24th July 1772 THOS. MOODIE D Sec[ry].

2. PRIVATE EMANCIPATION

(a) Advertisement from the Baton Rouge (La.) *Gazette,* Nov. 11, 1826.

PUBLIC NOTICE. The Heirs of Isaac Le Blanc, inhabitant of the parish of Iberville, having intention to emancipate their slave, a negro man named Jacob, upwards of thirty years of age, every person, who may have any legal opposition to the said emancipation, are required to file the said opposition, in the office of the Parish Judge of the said parish, within forty days from the date of the present notice. D. B. DUPUY, Sheriff.
Iberville, 8th. November, 1826.

(b) News item from the New Orleans (La.) *Commercial Times,* July 10, 1846.

MANUMITTED SLAVES. Three hundred and eighty-five manumitted slaves, freed by the will of the late John Randolph, of Roanoke, passed through Cincinnati, on the 1st. instance, on their way to Mercer county, Ohio, where a large tract of land is provided for their future homes. The *Times,* of that city, understands that the law of that State, known as the Black Law, requiring every colored person coming into the country to give security not to become a public charge, will be rigidly put in force, in this instance. Judging from the proceedings of a late public meeting in Mercer county, we imagine this to be true.

3. THE GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS OF FREE PERSONS OF COLOR

Official register of free persons of color in Richmond County, Ga., 1819, printed in the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle,* March 13, 1819.

Georgia, Richmond County, Clerk's Office Inferior Court, 2nd March, 1819.

I certify that the following is a correct list of the names of persons of color registered in this office, in conformity to the act of the 19th December, 1818 supplementary to, and more effectually to enforce an act prescribing the mode of manumitting slaves in this state, etc. and all persons concerned or interested will take notice that certificates will issue to them on or before the first Monday in May next, if objections are not filed thereto, on or before the second Monday in April next, viz.

NAMES	AGE	PLACE OF NATIVITY	RESIDENCE	HOW LONG IN GEO.	OCCUPATION
Jack Harris	52	Maryland	Augusta	40	Boating
Rachel Harris	12	Savannah		12	house servt
Harry Todd	53	Va.		35	Carpenter
Peggy Todd	40			17	Sew'g and Wash'g

Names	Age	Place of Nativity	Residence	How Long in Geo.	Occupation
Maria Todd	12	Savh		12	house servt
Sarah Todd	10	Augusta		10	House servt
Hanna Todd	8			8	"
Susannah Todd	5			5	
Matthew Todd	2			2	
Delia Todd	2 mos			2 mos	
Jenny Magnan	30	St. Domingo		24	house serv
Stephen Frost	58	Baltimore		30	boat corker
William Hill	42	Virginia		26	barber
Patsy Hill	39	Geo		39	sewing
Caesr Kennedy	43			43	boating
Hannah Kennedy	40			40	sewing
Jaria Kennedy	21			21	
John Kennedy	18			18	sadler
Mary Ann Kennedy	15			15	sewing
William Kennedy	11			11	
Caesar Kenedy	9			9	
Rosella Kennedy	5			5	
Thomas Kennedy	3			3	
Dickey Evans	30			30	pilot steam boat
Lindey Kennedy	25	Africa		11	house servant
John Coleman	35	Virginia	Augusta	6	Carpenter
Molly Coleman	30	Augusta		30	Sewing
Mason Harris	50	Georgia		50	rafting
Nelly Harris	58	Africa		40	washing
Chas. Grant	50	N. Car		20	Carpenter
Peter Johnson	46	Savh		46	
Sally Johnson	16	Augusta		16	Sewing
John Johnson	14			14	carpenter
Caty Johnson	7			7	
Peter Johnson Jr.	9			9	
Betty Johnson	11			11	
Nancy Johnson	3			3	
Nancy Johnson	43	S. Car			washing
Nancy Fox	55	Augusta		55	washing
Junus Kelley	20			20	sawing
Betsy Kelley	22			22	washing
George Kelley	19			19	carpenter
Alfred Kelley	3 mos			3 mos	
Sam Kelley	5			5	
Richard Kelley	70	S. Car		25	common laborer
Josiah Kelley	1	Georgia		1	
Venice Mabre	55b	Guinea		30	washing
Vienna Kelley	22	Augusta		22	sewing
Henry Kelly	2				
Sally Langley	35	Maryland		22	washing
Isabell Wilson	20	Georgia		20	sewing
Sarah Carnes	35	N. Car		8	sewing
Jack Carns	22	S. Car		15	boating
Joe Carns	20			15	
Vienna Carns	15			14	sewing
Lucy Carns	20			15	sewing
Thomas Carter	26	Maryland		14	carpenter
Sarah Richards	30	S. Car		20	sewing
Junus Course	30	Augusta		30	
Juda Kelley	35	S. Car		25	washing
William Kelly	13	Augusta		13	carpenter
Madison Kelly	10			10	

Names	Age	Place of Nativity	Residence	How Long in Geo.	Occupation
Augustus Kelley	7			7	
Ann Kelly	5			5	
Emily Kelly	2			2	
Nancy Kelly	55	S. Car		30	Washing
Ann Kelly	33		Rich'd county	25	sewing
Nanny Harris	50		Augusta	30	washing
Venice Kelly	30			10	washing
Amy Dobbins	25			3	washing
Sylvester Dobbins	6			3	
Edin. Dobbins	5			3	
Sarah Fitch	35			22	
Sikey Fitch	4			4	
Matilda Fitch	3			3	
Andrew Fitch	6 days			6 days	
Deanna Caroline	33			22	sewing
Marticia Caroline	5	Augusta		5	
Alick Pope	38	Penn		20	drayman
Jenny Keating	35	Virginia		25	washing
Polly Keating	12	Augusta		12	sewing
Betsy Keating	11			11	
Martha Keating	8			8	
Thomas Keating	3			3	
Augustus Keating	11 mos			11 mos	
David Knight	22	S. Car		2	boating
Milly Sibbald	40	Maryland		12	washing
Eliza Estaerlin	45	St. Domingo		24	sewing
Babet Aesterlin	20	Georgia		20	sewing
Adella "	17			17	sewing
Mariah Monroe	18	Augusta		18	sewing
Edy Sheitall	26	Savh		26	sewing
Charlotte Tubman	20	Augusta		20	sewing
Sarah Walton	25			25	washing
Chloe Walter	50	Savannah		50	washing
Martha Walton	5	Augusta		5	washing
Betsey Magnan	40	St. Domingo		25	washing
James Triplet	60	Va		10	waggoning
Mary Ann "	19			2	washg and cookg
Richard Triplet	13			10	
James " Jr	2	Augusta		2	
Sambo Campbell	70	S. Car		60	gardening
Thomas Kelly	25			20	boating
Mary Jenne Cloe	32	St. Domingo		25	washing
Jenny Ross	60	Georgia		60	washing
Thomas Bradley	79	Virginia	Richd county	8 mo	carpenter
Amelia Brown	23		Augusta	15	sewing
Elenor Knight	30	S. Car		7	sewing
Benj. Knight	2	Savh		2	
Peggy Haynes	24	Georgia		24	house servant
Bod Martin	23	Georgia		23	draying
Nelly Kelly	23	Augusta		23	washing
John Kelly	9			9	
Jane Scott	17			17	sewing
Elenor Harris	29	S. Carolina		12	sewing
Robert Kelly	12			1	house servant
G. M. Scott	7			3	
James Larry	51	Va		30	laborer
Katey Larry	20	Augusta		20	weaving
Eliza Larry	10			10	

Names	Age	Place of Nativity	Residence	How Long in Geo.	Occupation
James Larry Jr	8			½	
Nelly Jones	30	Va		16	washing
Robet Jones	14	Augusta		14	
Sary Ann Jones	1			1	
Augustus Larry	1			1	
Daniel Caroline	35	N. Car		8	carpenter
Rachel Shavers	30	S. Car		20	sewing, washing, etc
Linda Lambert	50			22	market
Suckey Young	50	Va		15	washing
Nancy Kevan	27	Ga		27	washing
Ursele Poison	24	N. Car		18	sewing
Betsey Keating	27	S. Car		26	sewing
Caroline "	9	Ga		9	
Emily "	7			7	
Eliza "	5			5	
Jos. "	3			3	
Ceasar Tanner	76b	S. Car	Springfield	2	sexton African Church
Sopha	78			25	sewing
Harriet Williams	36		Augusta	9	weaving
Billy Collins	55			25	boating
Roderick Dent	23	Maryland		15	blacksmith
Kitty Shifton	13	Augusta		13	sewing
Louis Monroe	4 mos	Augusta		4 mos	
Willis Carter	26	Va		22	carpenter
Joseph Smith	22	Augusta		22	sadler
Joseph Lee	16	Savannah		16	farmer
David Russell	13	S. C.		2	
John Wright	30	Ga	Richd county	30	planter
Polly Wright	32			32	spinning, weaving
Jane Coleman	14	S. Car		11 mos	spinning
Moses Jones	65		Augusta	20	boating
J. T. Welch	27	Newark		4 mo.	harnessmaker
Isaac Harman	27	Ga	Richd county	27	common laborer
Matthew Marham	25			25	"
James Harman	22			22	"
Abram Harman	20			20	"
Ailcey Hagland	50	Va	Augusta	32	spinning
Martha Hulin	36	S. Car	Richd county	12	"
John Evans	54	Va		35	millwright
James Evans	9	Richd county		9	
William Hulin	14	S. Car		12	farming
Mary Hulin	12	Richd county		12	washing
Navel Hulin	9			9	house servant
John Hulin	7			7	
Anna Hulin	5			5	
Betsey Bond	25	S. Car		24	washing
John Cousins	55	Va	Augusta	5	ostler
Priscilla Bing	43	S Car		23	spinning, weaving
Sally Rouse	22	Ga		22	
William Evans	20			20	common laborer
Henry Smith	35	Phila		12	waiting man
Peter Leigh	58	Va	Richd county	38	farming
Stephen Coleman	60			40	boating — raftg
Caesar Johnson	51	N. Car		46	carpenter
Lucy Johnson	41	Va		28	sewing and weaving
Rebecca Johnson	11	Augusta		11	seamstress
Eliza Johnson	7		Augusta	7	
Martha Johnson	4			4	

Names	Age	Place of Nativity	Residence	How Long in Geo.	Occupation
Susanna Frazer	32	S. Car	Richd county	30	weaving, sewing
Eliz. Harman	21	Augusta		23	weaving
G. F. Harman	1 mo	Ga		1 mo	
Eliza Ann Collins	30	S. Car	Richd county	23	"
William Frazier	5	Ga	Augusta	5	
Tom Paris	50	Ga		50	boating
Sarah Rouse	30	S. Car		20	washing
Oliver Anthony	26	Ga	Richd county	26	boating
Moses Hill	43	Va		19	boathand
Jacon Jones	23	S. Car		3	carpenter
Joseph Gowan	24	Ga		24	attending sawmill
Violet Sharper	56	Maryland		30	washing
Jeremiah Smith	55	N. Car		9 mos	waggoning
William Chaves	51			8	millwright
Sandy Hall	25	Ga		25	boating
Dick Taylor	60	S. C.		8	"

John H. Mann, Clerk.

4. TOWN POLICING OF SLAVES AND FREE NEGROES

(a) Regulations and their enforcement in the town of Milledgeville, Ga. Items from the minutes of the town council printed in the American Historical Association *Report for 1903*, vol. 1, 467-470. This is not the text of the record, but an abstract made by the present editor from the original MSS.

Item, date of July 30, 1822: An ordinance. (1) No slave may live off the lot inhabited by his owner or employer. (2) No slave may hire his own time from his master or contract to labor for any other person. (3) No person of color may keep spirituous liquors for sale, and none may keep any horse, cow, or hog for his own use. (4) No free person of color may live in Milledgeville except with a guardian living in the town and a certificate of character and a bond for good behavior. Not exceeding four washerwomen at one time shall be exempt from the provisions of this ordinance, and they only when specially licensed.

Item, August 22, 1822: An ordinance. Articles (1) and (2) of the above ordinance of July 30 are suspended until December 15 in the case of slaves provided with certificates of character and covered by bonds for good behavior.

Item, February 1, 1823: An ordinance for a patrol. Ordered that the marshal divide the whole list of citizens subject to patrol duty into 30 squads, and that each squad do patrol duty for one night in each month. Exemption from patrol duty may be purchased at $6 per year.

Item, March 22, 1823: Fines of $1 each are imposed upon fifteen citizens for failure to perform patrol duty.

Item, January 7, 1824: Treasurer's report. Amount received in 1823 in fines for failure to do patrol duty, $40.50.

Item, January 12, 1824: An ordinance repealing the above ordinance of February 1, 1823.

Item, January 31, 1831: An ordinance providing a new system of patrol. Ordered, that the marshal and three sergeants, with salaries of $100 a year, shall command the patrol in succession. Five citizens are to serve each night. The patrol is to continue from 9 p. m. to 3 a. m. Persons failing to patrol or furnish substitutes are subject to fine from $1 to $5.

Item, February 2, 1825: An ordinance for organizing a town guard to replace the former patrol system. Citizens are permitted to volunteer and receive payment for services. The duty of the guard is to apprehend every slave between ten and sixty years of age found off his master's premises without a pass after the ringing of the market bell at night. Slaves apprehended are to be kept in the guardhouse till morning, and their owners notified. Each slave is to be released after 25 lashes on the bare back and the payment of $1 by the owner.

Item, June 14, 1825: An ordinance amending the above ordinance by exempting slaves from whipping for the first offense.

Item, September 31, 1828: Upon the complaint of John Pitt, of the conduct of Rachel, a free woman of color, ordered that Rachel be required to remove from the house she now occupies, and that her guardian give bond and take out a license for her before November 15, to avoid the enforcement of the law in case of failure.

Item, January 23, 1829: Licenses issued to John Mitchell for Aaron, a free person of color, to W. H. Torrance, for Patsy, a free person of color; and Parmalee, her daughter; to Wm. Hudson, for Dinah, a woman slave; to Seaborn Jones for his slave Billy; to Wm. Green for Sally Freeman, a free person of color; to Wm. Y. Hansell for Wiley Woodward, a free person of color; to John Marler, for Esek, a slave.

Item, April 22, 1831: Ordered that the Secretary serve a citation on Edward Cary and that the marshal be directed to bring before this board a negro slave named Nathan belonging to the said Cary, on Monday next, to answer the charge of assault and battery, on one of the patrol of the town and show cause why punishment should not be inflicted.

Item, April 24, 1831: In response to the above citation, Edward Cary appeared without the negro. He alleged that Richard Mayhorn had violated the ordinance of the town by transcending his authority as a patrol. The evidence of witnesses was introduced to substantiate Cary's statement. The board ordered that Richard Mayhorn be discharged from the service of the corporation.

Item, July 13, 1831: A patrol reported riotous conduct on the part of a negro named Hubbard, and charged Hubbard with cursing, assaulting, and bruising Billy Woodliff, at the door of Billy's shop. Billy

Woodliff, being sworn, related how Hubbard abused and bruised him with a rock. Robert Mercer and Mr. Winter also testified. The fact was brought to light that Hubbard's attack upon Billy had been brought about by Billy's having taken Hubbard's wife away from him. "The testimony being concluded, Mr. Wiggins addressed the board in a speech containing some *lengthy, strengthy,* and *depthy* argument; whereupon the board *ordered* that the negro man Hubbard receive from the marshall *ten* lashes, moderately laid on, and be discharged."

Item, February 12, 1830: Whereas the board has received information that Elijah H. Burritt has violated the statute of the last Georgia legislature by the introduction of certain insurrectionary pamphlets, resolved that the town marshal be directed to enter his name as prosecutor in the case, and that this board will pay all expenses necessary to bring the offender to punishment.

Item, September 13, 1831: Ordered, that the marshal and deputies use increased vigilance with regard to our black population, and particularly that they do not fail to visit every place at which there is an assembly of negroes, and in the event of religious meetings to treat them as the law directs for unlawful meetings, unless there is present at least one white person accepted by the church to which the society belongs.

Item, October 5, 1831: The negro man Nathan, belonging to W. B. Hepburn, was brought before the board and examined relative to a suspected insurrection among the blacks. Whereupon, after due consideration of all the circumstances, it was ordered that, as nothing criminal has been proved against him, he be immediately discharged. The yellow man Richard

Rogers, a preacher, was examined and likewise discharged. So also Aleck Reynolds, the blacksmith, and Casewell, a blacksmith belonging to Peyton Pitts. The board ordered that, whereas there has been considerable danger in the late excitement and alarm of an intention at insurrection, by firing guns and "by persons carrying arms that were intoxicated," and by boys unable to bear arms, it be ordained that the marshal and patrols take away arms from intoxicated persons and boys and enforce the ordinance against firing arms in the streets.

The examination of these negroes suspected of conspiracy in 1831 and the trials of Nathan and Hubbard, noted above under dates of April 22 and 24 and July 13, 1831, appear to be the only instances recorded of negroes having been tried by the Milledgeville authorities for crimes or misdemeanors prior to the outbreak of the civil war.

Item, January 5, 1839: "On motion of Alderman Cook, Resolved that the Marshal be and he is hereby required to pay over to the Council immediately after the passage of this Resolution, all moneys received by him for superintending the Balls given by the Colored People during the Christmas holidays, and that he be instructed not to receive in future any compensation for such services."

Item, December 19, 1839: Resolved that the board deem it improper to grant negroes the privilege of having balls at any other time than during the Christmas holidays, and then in the daytime, and that no consent shall be granted except upon the application of the owners or guardians of the negroes.

Item, January 21, 1841: Resolved upon petition, that the band of musicians composed of colored per-

sons be allowed to practice in the old theater not later than 10 o'clock, until further ordered by the board; provided they obtain the services of some suitable white person to accompany them.

Item, September 18, 1854: The board resolves that the petition before them asking the privilege for the negroes of the city of erecting a church for their separate use upon the lands of the city can not be entertained unless it be signed by a majority of the citizens of Milledgeville.

(b) Police news items printed in the *Royal Gazette* (Kingston, Jamaica), May 28-June 4, 1803. Postscript.

A brown woman was, on Friday last week, brought before the Sitting Magistrates, charged with selling rum after candle light; when, though the penalty was £20, it being the first offence, she was only fined the sum of 20s.

A white person and two negroes were likewise fined in the mitigated penalty of 10s each, for hawking and peddling goods through the streets; and the owner of a dray in 20s. for not having his number marked on both shafts of the same. . .

The same day three negro men slaves were tried in a summary manner before the Sitting Magistrates, for being found gambling with dice, and sentenced to be publicly flogged; which was accordingly put in execution in the following manner before the beef-market. . .

St. Jago de la Vega, May 28. On Monday came on at the Court House in this town, the trial of a free black man, named Thomas Henry Bosden, under the inveigling Act, when he was found guilty of having harboured and concealed a negro slave, the property of Hugh M'Gaan, Esq. He was sentenced to be imprisoned for six months, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and to remain in confinement until such fine be paid.

5. LAXITY OF CITY REGULATION IN PRACTICE

Extract from an address of Recorder Missonet, acting Mayor, to the New Orleans city council, Nov. 4, 1813. MS. in the possession of the editor.

Vous êtes témoins comme moi, messieurs, pu'au mépris de vos ordonnances les esclaves ne sont aucunement surveillés, qu'ils s'envirent journellement dans les cabarets, et remplissent les carrefours, en restant chaque soir attroupés aux portes de ces lieux de débauche; que non-seulement ils se livrent jusqua'à l'excès aux jeux et danses que vous avez prohibés, mais qu'ils se rassemblent en foule dans plusieurs maisons particulières de la ville et des fauxbourgs, et qu'au grand scandale du public étonné ils se donnent entre-eux des bals qui se prolongent fort avant dans la nuit; qu'enfin ces bals sont modelés sur ce qui se pratique dans ceux des blancs, puisque les esclaves y jouissent de la clarté brillante des lustres et des quinquets, qu'ils y dansent au son des mêmes instruments, et qu'ils y trouvent des liqueurs spiritueuses ansi que refraîchissments de toute espece.

[Translation of the above.]

You are witnesses like myself, gentlemen, to the contempt of your own ordinances: that the slaves are not policed, that they congregate daily in the saloons and fill the "carrefours" [probably colloquial, meaning not clear], loafing every evening in crowds at the doors of these places of dissipation; that they not only indulge to excess in the gambling and dancing which you have forbidden, but they gather in crowds at numerous houses in the city and the suburbs, and to the great scandal of the astonished public they give among themselves balls lasting far into the night; and finally, that these balls are patterned upon those of the whites, since the slaves enjoy the same brilliant light of lustres and

lamps, dance to the sound of the same instruments, and have spirituous liquors and refreshments of every kind.

6. INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL STATUS

(a) Lewis, M. G. *Journal of a West India Proprietor kept during a Residence in the Island of Jamaica* (London, 1834), 347, 348.

Feb. 17, [1817]. Some of the free people of colour possess slaves, cattle, and other property left them by their fathers, and are in good circumstances; but few of them are industrious enough to increase their possessions by any honest exertions of their own. As to the free blacks, they are almost uniformly lazy and improvident, most of them half-starved, and only anxious to live from hand to mouth. Some lounge about the highways with pedlar boxes, stocked with various worthless baubles; others keep miserable stalls provided with rancid butter, damaged salt-pork, and other articles; and these they are always willing to exchange for stolen rum and sugar, which they secretly tempt the negroes to pilfer from their proprietors; but few of them ever make the exertion of earning their livelihood creditably. Even those who profess to be tailors, carpenters, or coopers, are for the most part careless, drunken, and dissipated, and never take pains sufficient to attain any dexterity in their trade. As to a free negro hiring himself out for a plantation labourer, no instance of such a thing was ever known in Jamaica, and probably no price however great, would be considered by them as a sufficient temptation. . .

(b) Extract from a letter of A. H. Urquhart, overseer of the Mills Plantation, Jefferson County, Ga., Feb. 3, 1840, to his employer, Miss Margaret Telfair, Savannah, Ga. MS. in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, trustee for the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah. Concerning free negro squatters upon the Mills Plantation.

Mary Scotts Daughters husband have presented a

recommendation to me as an honest industrious man and that he had conducted himself properly and several assigners But I am not acquainted with any of them there is good and Evil reports respecting him I cannot say which is true I will thank you to say wheather they shall Be permited to settle on your Land or not I Expect there is some settled on your Land all Ready that never have had any permission I can find no permission in the Plantation Book for the following free negroes Isaac Mason that Married Mary Scotts Daughter & Joseph Nunes I am of the opinion have settled of his own accord he is clearing up the Land Burning the lightwood which will Be valluable and not moore than 3 miles from the River, when I first new Nunes he was living with his uncle Charles Nunes and the said Charles had permission to settle where he is now living and Joseph had a negro house on the Land he commence clearing about 3 years sence and his negroes are Increaseing and growing I think he has 10 or 11 negroes at this time and several of them able to do good work; and all these free Negroes on your Lands have swarms of children they will soon Be able to cut down quantitys of your Lands at the same time they think it a task to send you a few chickens and Eggs. I think you would do well to make them pay rent unless they do better.

7. FREE PERSONS OF COLOR EMIGRATING FROM LOUISIANA IN SEARCH OF OPPORTUNITY, RETURN FROM SAN DOMINGO AND REPORT ON THE INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO REPUBLIC

News item from the New Orleans *Commercial Advertiser*, reprinted in the *Courrier des Natchitoches* (Natchitoches, La.), June 7, 1825.

ST. DOMINGUE. Nous apprenons que plusieurs personnes du couleur libres, qui s'étaient décidées à quitter la Louisiane dans l'espoir d'être plus heureuses sous le

gouvernement de soi-disant Republicain Boyer, sont revenues à la Nouvelle Orléans, convainçues que la véritable liberté ne consiste pas seulement dans le nom, mais encore dans la morale et la pratique. Dans les villes de St. Domingue le peuple est addoné au vol à la débauche et à mendier; l'industrie est une chose inconnue parmi les hommes de couleur. Le peu qui se fesait dans la ville était à peu de choses prês, le partage des femmes et des blancs. A la campagne on avait recours à des moyens de rigueur pour faire travailler les cultivateurs parceque l'appat de récompenses avait été insuffisant.

Telles étaient les choses à St. Domingue, quand les nègres apprirent que Boyer traitoit avec la France. Le gouvernement des mulâtres devint odieux; et dans certains districts, êloignés des villes, les nègres avaient cessé de travailler. Les passes des montagnes aux derniers dates étaient infestées de bandes armées, et on redoutait une révolte générale. Boyer dont la santé est mauvaise, se trouve dans une situation dangéreuse à garder et dangéreuse à quitter. Il a quelque milliers de Bayonettes à ses ordres, mais il ne sait à qui se fier. Les nègres n'attendent que l'occassion et un chef, pour exterminer les autres coulers.

[Translation of the above.]

ST. DOMINGO. We learn that many free persons of color who had decided to leave Louisiana in the hope of being happier under the self-styled Republican Boyer, have returned to New Orleans, convinced that true liberty consists not in the name merely, but in the spirit and practice. In the towns of St. Domingo the people are given to theft, debauchery and lying; industry is a thing unknown among the men of color [i.e. mulattoes]. The little that was done in the city was practically the share of the women and the whites.

In the country recourse was had to rigorous methods to make the field laborers work, because the inducement of wages had been inadequate.

Such was the state of things, when the negroes learned that Boyer was negotiating with France. The government of the mulattoes became odious; and in some districts, remote from the cities, the negroes had stopped working. The mountain passes at last reports were infested by armed bands, and there was fear of a general revolt. Boyer, whose health is bad, is in a position dangerous to maintain and dangerous to abandon. He has some thousands of bayonets at his command, but knows not whom to trust. The negroes await only an opportunity and a leader, to exterminate the other colors.

8. PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING FREE NEGROES

(a) Editorial from the Georgia *Journal* (Milledgeville), Jan. 1, 1817.

The establishment of a colony of free blacks in Africa, the land of their fathers, or some other distant quarter of the world, is beginning to be seriously agitated in different parts of the country, and will probably be brought before congress at the present session. With this view resolutions have been adopted by the legislature of Virginia and by a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of New Jersey, requesting their public functionary to make application to the general government for a territory on the shore of the North Pacific, or on the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, not within any of the states or territorial governments of the Union, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are, or may be, emancipated.

To the nation at large, the slave holding states in particular, this subject is full of interest. The prac-

ticability of colonizing the blacks has been demonstrated at Sierra Leone, where thousands are said to be cultivating the soil, and civilizing the barbarous hordes that surround them. Nor will the policy of such a measure be questioned by anyone who duly estimates the danger to which our tranquility is constantly exposed by having among us a race of people, possessing neither the rights of citizens nor the protection of slaves. With the example of St. Domingo before our eyes, it is strange we would have permitted partial freedom to exist so long, especially when it is known to have the effect of making slaves discontented with their situation, and exciting them to insurrection.

But we ought not to stop at this. A gradual reduction of slavery should be immediately attempted, if, as Mr. Jefferson affirms in his Notes on Virginia, we shall have some day to choose between our own destruction and general emancipation. With such a hint from so distinguished a philosopher, shall we not merit execration, if we fail to provide in time an adequate remedy for this great and growing evil, an evil which is always staring us in the face–which obtrudes so frequently upon us in spite of ourselves, the most gloomy and awful apprehension. If the government will find means of conveying out of the country such slaves as may be emancipated, and would likewise purchase annually a certain number, particularly females for transportation, it is believed our black population would soon become harmless if not extinct. To the importance of such an object, the expense will bear no comparison; and a more favorable period than the present for its accomplishment can scarcely be expected.

(b) News item from New Jersey, in an editorial from the *American Sentinel* reprinted in the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Sept. 17, 1834.

THE BLACKS. The Woodbury *Herald* of yesterday says, that the upper part of Gloucester, New Jersey, "is literally overrun with blacks, driven by the violence of an infuriated mob, from their homes and property in Philadelphia, to seek shelter and protection among the farmers of our country. Their numbers previous to this influx had become in some places troublesome—in others a burden and a nuisance. A temporary sojourn among us, considering the circumstances of the case, may be borne with—but the first indication of a permanent residence should, and we feel confident will, call forth a rigid enforcement of the statute against the admission of blacks into our boundaries. We have no doubt that they may return to their proper residences with perfect safety."

(c) Editorial from the Atlanta (Ga.) *Daily Intelligencer*, Jan. 9, 1860.

THE FREE NEGRO QUESTION. We notice in the *Constitutionalist* of yesterday, the full proceedings of the last session of the City Council of Augusta—the principle question discussed at that session being the right of the City Recorder, to sell into slavery free negroes convicted of a violation of the city laws, such power being conferred upon him by the last General Assembly. A long debate sprung up in the Council on this question, with which so far as it has a local application, we have nothing to do; but the ground taken by those who opposed the selling of those negroes, seems to us altogether untenable. We are opposed to giving free negroes a residence in any and every Slaveholding state, believing as we do, that their presence in slave communities is hurtful to the good order of society, and fraught with

great danger to our "peculiar institution"; and we speak of this matter now, as the question has been raised, for the purpose of awakening the sentiment of the community to the dangerous element which manumission has placed among us. We confess that we were not a little surprised upon reading the Council Proceedings, to find one member styling this law authorizing the sale under certain conditions "monstrous." We can't see for the life of us how anyone understanding fully the great principle that underlies our system of involuntary servitude, can discover any monstrosity in subjecting a negro to slavery of a white man. We contend on the contrary that the monstrosity, or, at least, the unnaturalness in this matter, consists in finding negroes anywhere in white communities not under the control of the whites. Whenever we see a negro, we pre-suppose a master, and if we see him in what is called commonly a "free State" we consider him out of his place. This matter of manumission, or emancipation, "now thank Heaven, less practiced than formerly" is a species of false philanthropy, which we look upon as a cousin-Germain to Abolitionism–bad for the master, worse for the slave.

9. SEVERITIES OF THE LAW

(a) Letter of Governor Sir R. Robinson, Bermuda Islands, Feb. 22, 1689, to Deputy Governor Stede, in *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies 1, 1689-1682,* 9.

The negro which I sent by my kinsman, though he has been free, became a slave to the King in virtue of an Act of Bermuda, which obliges all free negroes to depart within a given time, or to become the King's slaves. The Act was passed chiefly because of that negro and his gang, and it would be very prejudicial to the Islands if he were not sold. I beg you to return him. The Chief Justice, who wrote about him, rather out of

malice to me and the Government than good will towards the negro, is going home shortly.

(b) Local news item from the New Orleans (La.) *Bee,* July 11, 1844.

John Vaughn f. m. c. [free man of color] was arrested on Tuesday night in the act of climbing over a fence and into the premises of Captain Gow, on Front street, and was yesterday brought before Recorder Baldwin to answer to the charge. While in the Recorder's office, he was recognized as having been sentenced some time since to the Penitentiary, for being in the State in contravention to law. His Honor sent him again before the Criminal Court, to be tried for a second offence for being in the State in contravention of law. The penalty is "Imprisonment for life."

10. VOLUNTARY ENSLAVEMENT

(a) Petition of Lucinda, a free negress, to be made a slave. MS. in Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

To this Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia, the petition of Lucinda, lately a slave belonging to Mary Matthews of King George county, respectfully sheweth that the said Mary Matthews, by her last will and testament, among other things, emancipated all her slaves, and directed that they should be removed by her executor to some place where they could enjoy their freedom by the laws there in force: That all the slaves so emancipated (except your petitioner) were removed this year to the State of Tennessee; but your petitioner declined going with them, as she had a husband belonging to Capt. William H. Hoe in King George county, from whom the benefits and privileges to be derived from freedom, dear and flattering as they are, could not induce her to be separated: that, in consequence of this determination on her part, a year has elapsed since the death of her late mistress Mary Mat-

thews, and your petitioner is informed that the forfeiture of her freedom has taken place under the law prohibiting emancipated slaves from remaining in this State; and that the Overseers of the poor might now proceed to sell her for the benefit of the poor of the county: Your petitioner, still anxious to remain with her husband, for whom she has relinquished all the advantages of freedom, is apprehensive that, in case of a sale of her by the Overseers of the poor, she may be purchased by some person, who will remove her to a place remote from the residence of her husband: to guard against such a heart rending circumstance, she would prefer, and hereby declares her consent, to become a slave to the owner of her husband, if your honorable body will permit it, and for that purpose she prays that you will pass a law vesting the title to her in the said William H. Hoe and directing that all proceedings on the part of the Overseers of the Poor for King George county to effect the sale of her may be perpetually staid, And your petitioner will pray &c.
Nov. 27th 1815. LUCINDA.

(b) News item from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Oct. 6, 1857.

VOLUNTARY ENSLAVEMENT. Elizabeth Bickley, a free girl of color, age about 22 years, voluntarily went into slavery at the present term of the Abingdon Circuit Court [S.C.]. She was bought by Capt. Samuel Skinner, sheriff of that County.

This is the first instance of the kind we have heard of, says the Abingdon *Democrat,* in this end of the State. The woman is very intelligent, and was full aware that a kind master was better able to provide and care for her than she was herself. This is a nut for Yankee philosophers to crack.

(c) *Petition of William Bass, a Free Person of Color, Praying to become a Slave.* Caption of a double broadside, or leaflet, in the possession of Hon. E. S. Hammond, Blackville, S.C. Text here given entire.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the General Assembly of South Carolina. The humble peition of the undersigned, William Bass, sheweth unto your honorable bodies, that he is a free person of color, residing in the District of Marlborough, in the State aforesaid, and that he is desirous of entering into the condition of slavery. That his position as a free person of color, a negro, is more degrading, and involves more suffering in this State, than that of a slave, who is under the care, protection and ownership of a kind and good master. That as a free negro, he is preyed upon by every sharper with whom he comes in contact, and that he is very poor, though an able bodied man, and is charged with and punished for, every offence, guilty or not, committed in his neighborhood; that he is without house or home, and lives a thousand times harder, and in more destitution, than the slaves of many of the planters in this district; for these reasons, and many others, unnecessary here to enumerate, your petitioner prays:

That he may be permitted by some action of your honorable bodies to become a slave of, and be owned by Mr. Philip W. Pledger, who has consented to receive him if he can do so lawfully, and who your petitioner is confident will make him a humane master and protector, and who owns his stepfather and some other relations.

his
William X Bass.
mark

Signed in my presence this December 14th, 1859.

S. J. Townsend.

South Carolina, Marlborough District.

Personally appeared before me, S. J. Townsend, and made oath that he was present and saw William Bass sign as his own free will and voluntary act, without any constraint whatever, the foregoing petition, and begged him, said deponent, to have it presented to the General Assembly. S. J. TOWNSEND.

Sworn to before me this December 14th, 1859.

P. M. COLL, Clerk.

I, P. W. Pledger, hereby consent, if the Legislature will legalize the act, to become the owner of William Bass, as prayed for in the foregoing petition.

P. W. PLEDGER.

Signed in my presence, December 14th, 1859.

S. J. TOWNSEND.

XV. POOR WHITES

1. THE EARLY GEORGIA CRACKERS, DESCRIBED BY A COCKNEY

Stokes, Anthony (chief-justice of the colony of Georgia). *A View of the Constitution of the British Colonies* (London, 1783), 140-141.

The Southern Colonies are overrun with a swarm of men from the western parts of Virginia and North Carolina, distinguished by the name of Crackers. Many of these people are descended from convicts that were transported from Great Britain to Virginia at different times, and inherit so much profligacy from their ancestors, that they are the most abandoned set of men on earth, few of them having the least sense of religion. When these people are routed from the other provinces, they fly to Georgia, where the winters are mild, and the man who has a rifle, ammunition, and a blanket, can subsist in that vagrant way which the Indians pursue; for the quantity of deer, wild turkies, and other game there affords subsistence, and the country being mostly covered with woods, they have it always in their power to construct temporary huts, and procure fuel. The Eastern Coast of Georgia, in which they plant rice, is at this time thinly settled on account of the emigration of the Loyalists, and the greatest proportion of inhabitants are negro slaves: whereas in the western parts, the inhabitants are numerous, and daily increase by the accession of the Crackers from the other Provinces; and it is highly probable that these people will in time overrun the rice part of the country, as the

Tartars in Asia have done by the fruitful cultivated provinces in the southern parts of that country. What induces me rather to think so is, that during the King's Government these Crackers were very troublesome in the settlements, by driving off gangs of horses and cattle to Virginia, and committing other enormities: they also occasioned frequent disputes with the Indians, whom they robbed, and sometimes murdered: the Indians in return, according to their custom, murdered the first white man they met, by way of retaliation.

2. THE PINE-BARRENS POPULATION

(a) Extract from a letter of John Palmer, St. Stephens, S.C., Dec. 3, 1808, to David Ramsay. MS. in the possession of the Charleston Library.

The settlers in our Pine woods make out but a very bad living. They might do better, but they are generally an idle set of people. The principal living is by hunting. The wolf makes depredations on sheep, and the Bears destroy the hogs in the river swamp.

(b) Ker, Henry. *Travels* (Elizabethtown, N.J., 1816), 352, giving observations made in 1816 on a trip from Columbia, S.C., to Fayetteville, N.C.

The complexion of the inhabitants now began to acquire that yellow sickly cast which is so common to those who reside in the neighborhood of marshes and swamps, and many of the children had not the appearance of that cleanliness which is the sure preservative of health. I stopped at the house of a woman to enquire the way, and as I rode up to the door was saluted with the barking of dogs, the squealing of pigs, and the vociferating lungs of about a dozen children who bawled out, mama, mama, here's a man, and ready to jump out of their skins.

(c) The Augusta (Ga.) *Constitutionalist*, Oct. 18, 1831, describing conditions in the Georgia pine flats.

The inhabitants of our city are scarcely aware that there exists within one hundred miles of them a people peculiar in habits, pursuits and manners, and among whom the absence of refinement and luxury is compensated by a republican simplicity–native vigor of intellect–and kindness of heart. We allude particularly to the counties of Emanuel and Tattnall, where although wealth and polish do not abound – the inhabitants are perhaps as happy and comfortable as those who breathe the air of our towns and reside in more populous and flourishing regions. Trained to labor from their youth, they shrink from no toil or hardship–and content with little, their ideas do not stray beyond the farms where grow their cotton, and corn and sugar cane, and the pine woods where their flocks feed upon the luxuriant wild-oats. The country is wild, sparsely settled, full of game, and if we except one or two highways leading to Savannah, almost without roads, the paths dignified by the name of roads being almost overgrown by grass, and so dim and blind that the traveller almost unconsciously wanders from them into the forest. Health is the inheritance of sire and son, although it must be confessed that in this sickly year of 1831, it has not been so generally enjoyed as of yore. The ague has made its appearance in several places and bilious fever have in one or two cases astounded the inhabitants by their ravages. In the county of Emanuel no physician resides–he could not make his bread–and in Tattnall, the ailments of the people, usually slight, are ministered unto by an amiable gentleman who has some skill in medicine but who never listened to a lecture or witnessed a dissection, and

perhaps his patients like him the better for it. The aid of this kind amateur, however, is not always invoked in time of need – some of the good people have a horror of doctors and their means, an instance of which occurred but recently. An excellent old man, a Methodist preacher, died, full of years and ripe for future happiness, for he was followed to the grave by the blessings and lamentations of all who knew him. In a day or two afterwards a daughter followed him, and the disease, a bilious fever, by which they had been taken away, still remained to afflict two brothers of the family. They were visited by some intelligent gentlemen, who learned with surprise that medical assistance had not been called in. There sat the wretched mother watching the progress of that malady which had already deprived her of the most cherished of her heart, and there lay the brothers; the abated fever of the one inspiring hope that strength of constitution would finally overcome his complaint–the parched and yellow skin and torpid condition of the other foreboding the speedy close of his worldly cares. Anxiously did the visitors recommend immediate application to a physician and earnestly did they describe the fatal consequences of neglect and delay–one of them offered his own services and his purse to procure a medical attendant–in vain, the mother trusted in "the good one above," and would on no account allow a doctor of medicine to approach her family. One of the visitors proposed to prescribe, he suggested calomel, he might as well have recommended arsenic; the mother was sure that calomel and death were synonymous. Our gentlemen departed with such feelings as humane men must experience when they perceive an ill within the reach of a remedy which ignorance and prejudice, courting destruction, reject.

XVI. IMMIGRANTS

1. THE HARDSHIPS OF CRAFTSMEN IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

(a) Extract from Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton's *The Present State of Virginia* (London, 1727), 6-9, describing conditions in Virginia about 1697. The tract is also to be found, printed from the MS., in the Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, first ser., vol. v, 124-166.

If it be inquir'd what sort of a Country it is after all this, we must represent it after a quite different Manner from what might be expected from the first and eldest of all the English Plantations in America. As to the outward Appearance, it looks all like a wild Desart; the High-Lands overgrown with Trees, and the Low-Lands sunk with Water, Marsh and Swamp: The few Plantations and clear'd Grounds bearing no Proportion to the rough and uncultivated.

The Inhabitants are of three Sorts, Planters, Tradesmen and Merchants.

Tho' the Planters are the most numerous, perhaps not the hundredth Part of the Country is yet cleared from the Woods, and not one Foot of the Marsh and Swamp drained. As fast as the Ground is worn out with Tobacco and Corn, it runs up again in Underwoods, and in many Places of the Country, that which has been clear'd is thicker in Woods than it was before the clearing. It is but in very few Places that the Plow is made use of; for in their first clearing they never grub up the Stumps, but cut the Trees down about two or three Foot from the Ground; so that all the Roots

and Stumps being left, that Ground must be tended with Hoes, and by that time the Stumps are rotten, the ground is worn out. And having fresh Land enough, of which they must clear some for Fire-Wood, they take but little care to recruit the old Fields with Dung. Of Grain and Pulse, they commonly provide only as much as they expect they themselves shal have Occasion for, for the use of their Families, there being no Towns or Markets, where they can have a ready Vent for them, and scarce any Money to serve for a common Exchange in buying and selling. The only Thing whereof they make as much as they can is Tobacco; there being always a Vent for that, at one Time of the Year or other: besides that their Want of Cloaths and Household-Furniture and all other Necessaries instigate them to make as much Tobacco as they can, this being the Money of that Country which Answers all Things. But the great Labour about Tobacco being only in Summer time, they acquire great Habits of Idleness all the rest of the Year.

For want of Towns, Markets and Money, there is but little Encouragement for Tradesmen and Artificers, and therefore little Choice of them, and their Labour very dear in the Country. A Tradesman having no Opportunity of a Market, where he can buy Meat, Milk, Corn and all other things, must either make Corn, keep Cows, and raise Stocks himself: or must ride about the Country to buy Meat and Corn where he can find it; and then is puzzled to find Carriers, Drovers, Butchers, Salting (for he can't buy one Joynt or two) and a great many other Things, which there would be no Occasion for if there were Towns and Markets. Then a great deal of the Tradesman's Time being necessarily spent in going and coming to and from his Work, in

dispersed Country Plantations, and his pay being generally in straggling Parcels of Tobacco, the Collection whereof costs about 10 per Cent. and the best of this Pay coming but once a Year, so that he cannot turn his Hand frequently with a small Stock, as Tradesmen do in England and Elsewhere, all this occasions the Dearth of all Tradesmen's Labour, and likewise the Discouragement, Scarcity and Insufficiency of Tradesmen.

The Merchants live the best of any in that Country, but yet are subject to great Inconveniences in the way of their Trade, which might be avoided if they had Towns, Markets and Money: For, first, they are obliged to sell upon Trust all the Year long, except just a little while when Tobacco is ready. 2. They likewise drive a pitiful retail Trade to serve every Man's little Occasions, being all, in Effect, but Country Chapmen, for want of Towns to be a Center of Trade and Business. 3. Besides the Charge of it they are necessitated to trust all their Concerns to their Receivers, who go about among the Planters that owe them Tobacco, and receive and mark it for them, which Receivers, if they want either Skill or Honesty it proves very fatal to the Merchant. 4. They are at the Charge of carting this Tobacco so mark'd and receiv'd, to convenient Landings; or if it lies not far from these Landings, they must trust to the Seamen for their careful rolling it on board of their Sloops and Shallops: and if the Seamen roll it in bad Weather, or in dirty Ways, it is exposed to a great deal of Damage. 5. It is a great while before the Ships can be loaded, their Freight lying at such a Distance, and being to be brought together in this scrambling Manner. By Reason of this, it is an usual Thing with Ships to lye three or four Months in the

Country, which might be dispatched in a Fortnight's Time, if the Tobacco were ready at certain Ports; and this inflames the Freight to almost double the Price of what it needed to be, if the Ships had a quick Dispatch.

(b) Letter of George Hume, Rappahannock River, Va., June 20, 1723, to Ninian Home, printed in William and Mary College *Quarterly*, vol. vi, 253 ff.

S^{r}, We had no sooner landed in this Country, but I was taken immediately wth all y^{e} most common distampers y^{t} attended it, but y^{e} most violent of all was a severe flux of w^{ch} my uncle died, being the governor's factor at a place called Germawna in the upper parts of y^{e} Colony whom he berried their and put pails about his burial place w^{ch} is not very common in y^{s} country. I went and saw it as soon as I was able to ride. Y^{t} distemper brought me so low in a very short time y^{t} I was scarse able to walk however I was oblidged to tend y^{e} store for all my being so ill till we had done purchasing tobacco for y^{e} ship's loadning w^{ch} took me about six weeks when I was so much out of ordre y^{t} I was oblidged to go to Williamsburg by Water where I met wth Dr Brown who I suppose gave you an account last year of my condition. He declared to my selfe afer he had almost cured me of the flux y^{t} he did not expect I should have lived. I waited on y^{e} governour y^{e} day after I went to town & delivered y^{m} Spotsewood's letter. He was seemingly very kind to me and talked to me very friendly but he told me it was out of his power to do anything for me he being put out of his place and he had so many wth y^{m} that he was oblidged to put away some of y^{m} whom he could best spare–then q^{t} to do I could not tell however I advised with Dr. Brown who was of y^{e} opinion I should return home as soon as I could. What little money I had I was oblidged to spend it at

W^m^Burg the Time I was sick which was about five weeks indeed y^e^ Dr. took nothing for my druggs. All that comes to this country have ordinarily sickness at first w^ch^ they call a seasoning of w^ch^ I shall assure you I had a most severe one when I went to town. I got but very little for my store keeping for all y^t^ went to pay my passage for whenever my cosen John Watson at Port Glasgow told the Merchants there q^t^ you had writtne to him was the occasion of my going away so hastely they would not allow me to go but to come home again and they sent to Whithaven (because we were driven in there by stress of wather) to desire our Captain to send me home but he proved so much my friend when he saw me so fond of going (for he was always very kind to me) that he got me into another ship and I was to keep the store for my passage of w^ch^ I was very glad & accepted of it so y^t^ you may know by y^t^ I could be but very poor in purse & I did not know q^t^ hand to turne myselfe to for I could get no bussinesse for unlesse one have very good recommendation there is no sort of bussiness to be got in y^s^ Indian Country wherefore I could have traveled farer where I was informed I would have been better if I could have got any money but y^s^ is y^e^ worst place for y^t^ I could have pitched upon for there is so little in y^e^ country y^t^ I believe a great many of y^m^ does not know it if they saw it only. They make a parcill of tobacco w^ch^ they make to buy themselves cloathes and makes it go from one to another instied of money and that is all they seek after here so y^t^ if nothing fall out better for me next year if it be possible for me to get a little money & cloathes together I design for farrer abroad either to Jamaica or y^e^ West Indies which ever of them I can get the best accounts of I thought to have gone to New York little after I came here when I found

so little encouragement here w^{ch} is not far from y^{s} place but I could never be worth so much as to carry me it being very dear travelling y^{t} way. I hear my brother Pattrick is there Surgein of y^{e} Grayhound Man of Warr lying on y^{t} station.

Mr. Petter Chambers has been very kind to me in y^{s} place in assisting me wth severall necessities which I could not want and which it had been very hard for me to get unless he had assisted me such as Shoos & Stokins for ever since I came into y^{s} country I have never gained anything for myselfe unless it be sometimes a small parcill of tobacco w^{ch} I get for writing. Everything of cloathing is most unreasonably dear here it being three times as dear as in Scotland so y^{t} is y^{e} greats^{t} strait I am att.

I have had not my halth very well in y^{s} country as yet but however I have it much beter than I had it last year only I am now and then trobled wth y^{e} fever & ague w^{ch} is a very violent distemper here. This place is only good for doctors & ministers who have very good encouragem^{t} here.

2. HANDICRAFT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE COLONY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Extract from *A Description of the Province of South Carolina, drawn up at Charleston in September, 1731,* reprinted in B. R. Carroll's *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (New York, 1836), vol. ii, 130-131.

The good Dispositions which are making daily for a regular Administration of Justice, cannot fail of bringing the Country into Reputation, and drawing thither still great numbers of People. Artificers are so scarce at present, that all sorts of Work is very dear; Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths, etc. would be particularly acceptable there. A skilful Carpenter is not ashamed to

demand 30s. per Day beside his Diet; and the common Wages of a Workman is 20s. per Day, provided he speaks English, without which he cannot be understood, and consequently not so useful as others; and when a Workman has but 10s per Day he thinks he labours for almost nothing, though he has his maintenance besides. But this is Carolina Money.[5]

Most of their Shoes are brought from England, and generally sell for 40s. per pair. Not but that they have Hides enough, and very cheap, an Ox's Hide being sold for 30s. neither are they destitute of the Means to Tan them; for they make very good Lime with Oyster-Shells, and the Bark of Oak-trees is so plentiful, that it costs nothing but the trouble of gathering: They want therefore only a sufficient number of good Tanners and Shoemakers.

I might say the same of Leather dressers, since they send every Year to England above 200,000 Deer-skins undrest. Yet Carolina produces Oker naturally, and good Fish-oyl may be had from New York or New England very cheap: so that they might be drest and made up into Breeches in the Country, for which those skins are very proper, being warm in Winter and cool in Summer.

There is not one Potter in all the Province, and no Earthen-ware but what comes from England, nor Glass of any Kind. So that a Pot-house and a good Glass-house would succeed perfectly well, not only for Carolina, but for all the other Colonies in America. There is a kind of Sand and Earth which would be very proper for these Purposes, as also Wood and Fern in abundance, had they but Workmen to make use of them.

The Woods are full of wild Vines, bearing 5 or 6

[5] Carolina money was only one-seventh of the value of sterling. — Ed.

kinds of Grapes naturally: but for want of Vine-dressers &c. scarce any wine is drank there except what comes from Madera, which are indeed cheap, for a Bottle of excellent Wine cost last winter but 2s. Carolina Money to those who bought by the Hogshead.

3. A LOCAL SOCIETY TO PROMOTE IMMIGRATION

Notice from the Charleston (S.C.) *City Gazette,* May 19, 1795.

EMIGRANT SOCIETY. A paper containing "information to those who are disposed to migrate to South Carolina," published by order of "the South Carolina Society, for the information and assistance of persons emigrating from other countries," may be had gratis from the subscriber, whether in the French, English, or German language, by all persons who are disposed to circulate the same. It is the earnest wish of the society that the inhabitants of this state when writing to their correspondents abroad should occasionally inclose one of these papers in their letters. W. P. YOUNG.

4. THE NEGRO PROBLEM AS AFFECTED BY IMMIGRANTS

Extract from a letter of L. W. Spratt of Charleston (S.C.) to John Perkins of Louisiana, from the Charleston *Mercury,* Feb. 13, 1861.

Within ten years past as many as ten thousand slaves have been drawn away from Charleston by the attractive prices of the West, and laborers from abroad have come to take their places. These laborers have every disposition to work above the slave, and if there were opportunity would be glad to do so, but without such opportunity they come into competition with him; they are necessarily restive to the contact. Already there is disposition to exclude him from the trades, from public works, from drays, and the tables of hotels; he is even now excluded to a great extent, and . . . when . . .

more laborers . . . shall come in greater numbers to the South, they will still more increase the tendency to exclusion; they will question the right of masters to employ their slaves in any works that they may wish for; they will invoke the aid of legislation; they will use the elective franchise to that end; they may acquire the power to determine municipal elections; they will inexorably use it; and thus the town of Charleston, at the very heart of slavery, may become a fortress of democratic power against it. As it is in Charleston, so also is it to a less extent in the interior towns. Nor is it only in the towns that the tendency appears. The slaves from lighter lands within the state, have been drawn away for years by the higher prices in the West. They are now being drawn from rice culture. Thousands are sold from rice fields every year. None are brought to them. They have already been drawn from the culture of indigo and all manufacturing employments. They are as yet retained by cotton and the culture incident to cotton; but as almost every negro offered in our markets is bid for by the West, the drain is likely to continue; it is probable that more abundant pauper labor may pour in, and it is to be feared that even in this state, the purest in its slave condition, democracy may gain a foothold, and that here also the contest for existence may be waged between them.

5. IMMIGRANT LABOR IN PUBLIC WORKS AND MINES

(a) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette*, Sept. 1, 1774.

The Subscriber being just arrived from Great Britain, with a Number of Engineers and Artificers, in Order to remove the Obstructions to the Navigation of Potowmack River, at and above the the lower Falls, and thinking himself fully qualified for such an Undertak-

ing, agreeable to his Proposals before his Embarkation for Europe, he is desirous to have a Meeting of his principal Subscribers and others, interested in this necessary Work; and considering it most convenient to all concerned to have the same at George Town in Maryland, he proposes that it shall be there on Monday the 26th of September, at which Time and Place he will certainly attend, and be ready to lay before them an accurate Plan and Estimate of the Expense. Also an Act of the Virginia Assembly, and likewise a Subscription from some of the principal Proprietors, &c. of the Province of Vandalia, now residing in England, for the farther Encouragement of the proposed Undertaking.

JOHN BALLENDINE.

Falls of Potowmack, in Virginia, August 22, 1774.

(b) Letter of C. Meyers, Great Falls of the Potomac, May 31, 1796, to the Governor of Virginia, printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers,* vol. viii, 372.

I am here the Engineer for the Potomac Company. A variety of characters are employed, who, of course, are not of the best description. Riots and quarrels are now becoming so frequent that the exercise of legal power has become absolutely necessary—not only to cheque but to secure offenders of the public peace.

For these considerations, I respectfully offer my service as a Magistrate. Should you, sir, please to appoint me, I shall uniformly pursue that conduct that makes the appointment respectable.

I have no interest in or motive for this application but a wish to have the power given by law to preserve the peace of this place and neighborhood.

(c) Diary of Lucian Minor on a trip across Maryland in 1834, printed in the *Atlantic Monthly,* vol. xxvi, 340.

Several sections of the Balt. and Washn. Rlroad lay in sight as we drove along; its route now and then cross-

ing ours. Several hundred Irish and Dutch laborers on it, at various points; mostly Irish. The Dutch perfectly steady and well disposed. All the turbulence is among the Irish. The scene of their great affray three days ago, in which six or seven were killed, is close to the road. The ashes and fragments of the burned and torn down shanties are yet fresh. The rioters are not yet all taken. The militia are out to catch them, and repress apprehended riots.

We passed 20 or 30 [militia] in uniform, drilling in a shady wood: and about as many more, refreshing themselves at a tavern by the wayside—their guns not stacked but leaning at random (quite militia fashion) against the sides of the house and porch.

(d) Olmsted, F. L. *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1859), 47, 48. Observations in Virginia, 1856.

Yesterday, I visited a coal-pit: the majority of the mining laborers are slaves, and uncommonly athletic and fine-looking negroes; but a considerable number of white hands are also employed, and they occupy all the responsible posts. The slaves are some of them owned by the Mining Company; but the most are hired of their owners, at from $120 to $200 a year, the company boarding and clothing them. (I have the impression that I heard it was customary to give them a certain allowance of money and let them find their own board.)

The white hands are mostly English or Welchmen. One of them, with whom I conversed, told me that he had been here several years; he had previously lived some years at the North. He got better wages here than he had earned at the North, but he was not contented, and did not intend to remain. On pressing him for the reason for his discontent he said, after some hesitation, that he had rather live where he could be more free; a man had to be too "discreet" here: if one happened to

say anything that gave offense, they thought no more of drawing a pistol or a knife upon him, than they would of kicking a dog that was in their way. Not long since, a young English fellow came to the pit, and was put to work along with a gang of negroes. One morning, about a week afterwards, twenty or thirty men called on him, and told him that they would allow him fifteen minutes to get out of sight, and if they ever saw him in those parts again, they would "give him hell." They were all armed, and there was nothing for the young fellow to do but to move "right off."

"What reason did they give him for it?"

"They did not give him any reason."

"But what had he done?"

"Why I believe they thought he had been too free with the niggers; he wasn't used to them, you see, sir, and he talked to 'em free like, and they thought he'd make 'em think too much of themselves."

He said the slaves were very well fed, and well treated–not worked over hard. They were employed night and day, in relays.

The coal from these beds is of special value for gas manufacture, and is shipped, for that purpose, to all the large towns on the Atlantic sea-board, even to beyond Boston. It is delivered to shipping at Richmond, at fifteen cents a bushel: about thirty bushels go to a ton.

6. IRISH PEDDLERS

Local news item from the *Southern Banner* (Athens, Ga.), March 16, 1853.

KICKING UP A ROW. Three Irishmen, named John Carr, Robert McCannon, and John Gilburn, were arrested on Tuesday last by officer Haggard, and brought before the council for riotous conduct in the house of Mrs. Parker a widow lady. John Carr was fined $5.

and cost, the other two $10. each, and cost. They were all considerably elevated, but the announcement of the fines seemed to cause a depression in the stocks. Officer Moore has informed us that one of them passed a one dollar bill altered to a ten while here, and on being charged with it, the trio took French leave, leaving their goods and chattels behind. They pretend to be peddlers. We think they will bear watching.

7. IRISH GANGS IN PLANTATION WORK

(a) Russell, W. H. *My Diary North and South* (New York, 1863), 106. Extract of a conversation with an overseer on a Louisiana sugar plantation in 1861.

He pointed out some sheds around which were broken bottles where the last Irish gang had been working under one "John Loghlin," of Donaldsonville, a great contractor, who, he says made plenty of money out of his countrymen, whose bones are lying up and down the Mississippi. "They due work like fire," he said. "Loghlin does not give them half the rations we give our negroes, but he can always manage them with whiskey; and when he wants them to do a job, he gives them plenty of 'forty-rod' and they have their fight out—regular free fight, I can tell you, while it lasts. Next morning they will sign anything, and go anywhere with him."

(b) Extract from the plantation records of Louis Manigault. MS. in the possession of Mrs. Hawkins Jenkins, Pinopolis, S.C.

IRISH LABOR ON RICE PLANTATIONS, Savannah River, 1876. Upon taking charge of Gowrie on the 1st January, 1876, we continued as far as practicable to give the same wages for labor that Mr. Heyward and others were doing. The price was seventy-five cents for a full day's work, or 50 cents in money and 25 cents in rations per day for each prime hand. This was the

maximum price, and it was only the primest hands that would succeed in obtaining the said amount. All of this free-labor system was perfectly new to me, but Mr. James B. Heyward, Jr. understood it perfectly, having been engaged in this business since the termination of the Confederate war (1865) and was perfectly at his ease in the routine of plantation affairs. I found that Irishmen in great numbers were in the habit of seeking work upon our Savannah River rice plantations during the Winter season. They are 1st class ditchers, and are superior in all canal and bank work. They come out in squads of five or six, and are under the head of a foreman with whom your contract is made. These men occupy any ordinary negro-house, and are quiet and orderly in demeanor. From our commencing with one squad of five men, early in December, 1875, I increased this superior labor, having at one period up to twenty-five or six Irishmen, digging down to the hard mud the most important sections of the canals. . . All of this work was perfected in real 1st class order, being five feet deep, and much new mud and large stumps being thrown out on the margins. The immediate effect of drainage upon this canal-work was most effectual, and beautiful to behold. . . The Irish labor in ditching and banking, is so superior to that done by the very best negro men, that I made use of it as far as my means would allow. . . I presume in a few years these remarks about Irishmen will be of little interest from the familiarity with which the Savannah River rice-planter will become with their manner of work. At the present time it is quite new to me. The Irishman works with a shovel, (and long bent handle) and wheel barrow. The foreman loads each barrow as wheeled to him over a board, each man in line pushes forward his wheel bar-

row, carrying a load of huge weight; reaching his destination, the load is immediately discharged, and the wheel barrow is drawn behind empty by the man. There is no talking, as with negroes, no trifling, but the work goes on rapidly and in a serious manner. . .

(c) Lyell, Charles. *Second Visit to the United States* (New York, 1849), vol. ii, 126. Observations on the lower Mississippi, 1846. Reasons against reliance upon immigrants as a regular plantation labor supply.

An intelligent Louisianian said to me, "Were we to emancipate our negroes as suddenly as your government did the West Indians, they would be a doomed race; but there can be no doubt that white labor is more profitable even in this climate." "Then, why do you not encourage it?" I asked. "It must be the work of time," he replied; "the prejudices of owners have to be overcome, and the sugar and cotton crop is easily lost, if not taken in at once when ripe; the canes being damaged by a slight frost, and the cotton requiring to be picked dry as soon as mature, and being ruined by rain. Very lately a planter, five miles below New Orleans, having resolved to dispense with slave labor, hired one hundred Irish and German emigrants at very high wages. In the middle of the harvest they all struck for double pay. No others were to be had, and it was impossible to purchase slaves in a few days. In that short time he lost produce to the value of ten thousand dollars."

8. DISTRESS AND AVOIDANCE OF THE SOUTH

(a) Article by S. E. McKinley on the yellow fever season of 1853 in Louisiana, describing the country as full of funerals and pest cases, with industry demoralized, from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Jan. 9, 1855.

. . . Hundreds upon hundreds of Irishmen who were then in Louisiana as laborers upon the railroad,

then progressing through that State, but whose operations were suspended in many places on account of the irresistible ravages of the fever, were reduced to a state of mendicancy deplorable in the highest degree. The numbers of this class of persons who were reduced to a state of penury . . . was incredible and to depict that state into which they were reduced by a refusal on the part of their employers to pay–added to their well known habits of irregularity–would require the use of language only to be found in the vocabulary of the vicious. . .

(b) News item from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Sept. 7, 1858.

For the year ending May 31 last, 13,912 Germans arrived at New Orleans. Nearly ten thousand of these went to St. Louis. Less than three thousand of the number remained.

XVII. MIGRATION

1. FRONTIER SPIRIT IN THE COTTON BELT

Extracts from the "Autobiography of Gideon Lincecum," published in the Mississippi Historical Society *Publications,* vol. viii, 443-519. (Extracts here taken from pp. 451-473.)

Lincecum was born in Middle Georgia in 1793, soon after the removal of his father's family from North Carolina. In addition to the activities here described, he taught school for a year in 1817, set up as an Indian trader in 1819, served as surveyor and school commissioner at Columbus, Miss., resumed Indian trading with a drunken partner, was invalided for three years by a sunstroke, was given up by the physicians but cured himself, made a tour of the United States as manager of a team of Choctaw ball players, set up as a physician in 1830, became discontented with allopathy and went to study herb remedies among the Indians, thereafter practiced botanic medicine. In 1834, he made explorations in Texas, returned and practiced medicine at Columbus for seven years, and finally removed to Texas as a planter, physician, and student of natural history.

About this time, [1802] Tyre Kelly, James and John Hickman, of Tennessee, three brothers-in-law, wrote my father frequent letters urging him to sell out and go to that rich country. He, being naturally of a restless disposition, was very willing to try the experiment. He soon found a purchaser for his rich, money-making home. Three years of successful farming had tired him out. He sold out everything he could not carry with him, bought a good road wagon and four fine horses, and set out for Tennessee. The amount of freight he had to transport was a big chest, four beds, four white and four negro children, and his mother, who was at that time 88 years of age. She was a little indisposed when we started, and her sickness became so serious that the violence of her paroxysms frightened

my father so much that he went to the house of a Mr. Morris, who was nearest our camp, and got him to agree to let her have shelter with him while her sickness lasted. Her sickness continued three weeks, and my father, concluding that the fates were opposed to his removal to Tennessee, became discouraged, rented Mr. Morris's place and moved the family into Morris's house. Morris was an old man, had no children with him, and he and his old wife went to live with one of his sons. My father worked hard that year, made a large crop of cotton, which he sold for $5.00 a hundred in the seed. He had kept his wagon and fine horses and with the money he got for his cotton and corn crop, he was better prepared to meet the expenses of the long journey than he had been the year before.

So he fixed up again. . . We rolled on, four days, until we came in view of a little, dilapidated village on the bank of the Savannah river; just below the mouth of Broad river. There was other company ahead of us, and we could not get our wagon into the flat till near sundown. Just as the wagon was turning to go down into the ferry boat, a quite handsome young lady came up and, without asking any questions, threw a small budget into the wagon, and crossed over with us. After getting over into South Carolina, we had only time to get out of the timber when it was night. Here we camped. While they were collecting wood to make a fire, the before mentioned young lady came into camp with a heavier log of wood on her shoulder, my father said, than a man could carry. In a few days this young lady who proved to be Miss Melinda Nevils was married to my cousin, Asa Lincecum, who had joined us a few days previous to our setting out from Georgia.

We remained at that camp three days, during two of

which my father had been away with an old drunken Irishman, who had come there the day after we pitched camp. Mother was uneasy and said she did not understand it; that it was too bad to lose three days of pretty fair weather in such a long journey. But father came back the evening of the third day and astonished us all by informing us that he had rented an excellent farm on Calhoun's creek, Abbeville district, S.C.

We went there the next day and found the house a very good one and the land excellent. There was another good house of the farm, and Asa agreed to make a crop with my father, as there was plenty of open land on the place. He and his wife had nothing but their health and strength to begin life with, not even a blanket. But they had courage, and they went bravely to work, clearing the land and fixing up their house. Mother lent them a bedstead and some blankets. Asa made a fine crop of cotton and corn and Melinda spun and made cloth sufficient for clothing and household use. In the course of a year they had accumulated a wagon load of property. My father paid Asa for his share of the large crop they made, and it enabled them to supply all their immediate necessities.

My father sold his cotton for a good price and made a visit to his sister, living in Clark county, Ga. He was gone two or three weeks, and when he returned, he told my mother that he had purchased a tract of land with a good house on it, one mile from Athens, Ga. We were soon on the road again, returning to Georgia. In the course of a week we reached our new home. Father exerted every power at his new place. He planted and raised a large crop of cotton; and as soon as it began to open, every one that could pick five pounds a day was forced into the cotton field. . . We succeeded in

gathering the cotton by Christmas, and father took it to the gin and got the receipts for 4,643 pounds, for which he received five cents a pound.

He again became restless, and selling his place, put his wagon in good repair, set out on a third attempt to get to Tennessee. This time his cargo, besides the beds, trunks, etc., consisted of grandmother, four white and four black children. He had also two white children and one negro child walking. The weather was fine, and we made good progress. I was delighted that we were on the road. Being in my twelfth year, I was an expert with a bow and arrow, and could run far ahead, shooting and killing many birds in the course of a day.

Father hired a straggling old fellow to drive for this trip, and we rolled on bravely until we came to the Saluda river. There was there a store and a blacksmith shop, and we stopped until the smith nailed a pair of shoes on the out-riding horse. Father and his teamster became somewhat intoxicated and got two bottles of whiskey to carry with them. The river was wide and swift, but shallow. We forded it, and in the course of two hours were all safely landed on the border of South Carolina again. After going about five miles my father and the driver became more deeply intoxicated. The latter fell off the wagon and frightened the horses. They ran away and tore up the wagon, hurting all who were in it. My grandmother was very seriously wounded. It became necessary for us to remain in this place three weeks before my grandmother was able to travel again. At the end of this time my father told us that he had decided to purchase a place from a man by the name of Hamilton, who lived on a hill nearby. My father gave him some money and his wagon and two horses for the place. This was in Pendleton district, S.C.

We had on this place a large orchard. There were in it fifty peach trees, said to be forty-four years old. They made a very fine crop of peaches, which my father gathered and carried to a still, where he had them made into brandy. This, with all his corn and fodder that he could spare, he sold to travelers for ready money at a good price. It was an easy place to make a living, and my father seemed to be quieting down to a settled state of mind. All of the family were satisfied and willing to remain there. Unfortunately my uncle, Tyre Kelly, who had been living in Tennessee, stopped with us on his way to Georgia. He and his eight motherless children remained with us a month. After they left, my father became restless again, and sold his place at the first opportunity.

We were soon on the road again. The next time we stopped it was at a place a mile from where we lived the previous year.

The lands beyond the Oconee river had been obtained by the United States from the Muskogee Indians. No one had moved into this new purchase, and as father intended to settle there as soon as the Indians had completed the twelve months' hunting which had been by a stipulation in the treaty with the United States reserved to them, he took an overseer's place instead of purchasing land.

There came a man by the name of Young Gill, with his family, and made up a school, which was to be kept in a little old log cabin, a mile and a half from our home. Father entered my sister, brother and me as day scholars at the rate of $7.00 each per annum. We three started the next day and did not miss a day until father moved to the new purchase five months later. I was fourteen years old, and it was the first schoolhouse I had

ever seen. I began in the alphabet. There were some very small boys, seven years old, who could read.

Whenever Mr. Gill would storm out, "Mind your book," the scholars would strike up a loud, blatant confusion of tongues, which surpassed anything I had ever heard before. There I sat in a sea of burning shame, while the clatter and glib clap of tongues rattled on. I soon accustomed myself to this method of studying aloud and felt myself very much at home. . .

When the Indians had finished their year of hunting and retired from the new purchase my father took me with him to explore the country. We crossed the Oconee river and traversed the lands of the new purchase ten or twelve days. He preferred the country on Little river, selected a place and we returned home to make ready for the removal as soon as possible. The newly acquired land belonged to the State, and the Legislature enacted that it should be surveyed into lots of 202½ acres each, and have it drawn for by her citizens in general lottery. Men having families were entitled to two tickets; single men and women of age, and sets of orphaned children, one ticket each. My father had been moving and shackling about so much that he was not entitled to a chance in the lottery,–and the place he had selected on Little river had been drawn by a man who would not part with it. This discovery was not made until we had moved on to it. Father then found a place belonging to Thomas McLellon, with a double cabin on it. For this place he gave all the money he had, with "Mammy Pat" and two of her children. It was situated in the wild woods, on a beautiful clear running creek, in one mile of where Eatonton now stands.

Great numbers of people flocked into the country, and the next year after we came there the county seat was

laid off and named Eatonton. I was one of the chain carriers to survey the streets and lots though I was but fourteen years old. We had cleared and planted ten acres of ground the year before, and this year we cleared fifteen acres more. About this time my father and I had a misunderstanding and I decided to leave home. I hired to a man by the name of William Wilkins, a merchant at Eatonton. I worked for him two years remaining in his home during this time. At the end of the first year I had a serious difficulty with a man by the name of Clark, who had insulted me several times. He was discharged by Mr. Wilkins, who put me in entire charge of his business. After my second year with Mr. Wilkins I was employed by Mr. Thompson, a more prosperous merchant, who paid me a salary of $500.00 a year.

In the meantime I had studied medicine during odd moments. The War of 1812 was approaching. I left the store and confined myself entirely to the study of medicine until the declaration of war. I then enlisted in a company of volunteers, but as the people of Putnam county had elected me tax collector, I could enlist for only five months. I had to begin collecting in January, and it was in the month of August when I went into the army. I served until the first of January; then went home, collected the taxes, paid the money into the treasury and married. I served another period of three months after I was married, and in the spring of 1815 went home and gave my father a faithful year's work.

The next year I joined forces and farmed with Judge Strong. He had three hands and sixty acres of open land. I had forty acres of open land and two hands. He was to furnish all the provisions, smithing, etc. I was to superintend the farm and we were to make an

equal division of the proceeds of the crop. I planted sixty acres in cotton and forty in corn. I cultivated the ground carefully and both crops were very good. That year cotton was worth 31½ cents a pound, but I became restless and did not feel like staying in that country until the crop could be gathered. The Alabama, Black Warrior, Tombecbee, and Chatahoochie countries had all been acquired by conquest, and I was determined to seek a home in the wilderness. My father had made up his mind to go to the new country with his large family and he had been insinuating to me the propriety of breaking up to go with him. There was another little thing that increased my restlessness. My wife's relations were all wealthy and my wife said they had been mean enough to cast little slurs at her and her poverty. She also persuaded me to sell out and go with my father to the new country. All these influences confirmed me in the resolution to get ready and bid adieu to my native State.

Father and I sold out our possessions and were soon on the road to the new country. We had proceeded about forty-five miles when we came to the Ocmulgee river, which at that time was a dividing line between the Georgians and the Creek Indians. A man by the name of Ferguson came to our camp and getting a little "tight" with my father, in a kind of frolic, sold my father his land and cattle. All along the river the people owned herds of cattle which they kept in the range on the Indian side of it. There was plenty of deer over there, too; and being satisfied that my father would not remain more than a year, I concluded to stop also and do what I had never done in my life; idle away the time until he got tired of his bargain and made ready to move again.

I could continue my medical reading, fish in the river, and hunt the deer beyond it; and in this way have a pleasant time. I had made two or three very successful hunting excursions, had been fishing at my baited hole, and caught some fine fat red horse, and was highly pleased at the prospects for a pleasant year's amusement. . .

My father loved a border life, and the place he had purchased on the Ocmulgee, as the people had already commenced settling on the opposite side of the river, was no longer looked upon as a border country. He sold his place and was soon equipped and geared up for the road, and so was I. I had been reared to a belief and faith in the pleasure of frequent change of country, and I looked upon the long journey, through the wilderness, with much pleasure.

Our company consisted of my father and mother and eight children, with six negroes; Joseph Bryan, my brother-in-law, and his wife and two negroes; my wife and me and two small sons and two negroes. We had good horses and wagons and guns and big dogs. We set out on the 10th of March, 1818. I felt as if I was on a big camp hunt.

The journey, the way we traveled, was about 500 miles, all wilderness; full of deer and turkeys, and the streams were full of fish. We were six weeks on the road; and altogether it was, as I thought and felt, the most delightful time I had ever spent in my life. My brother Garland and I "flanked it" as the wagons rolled along and killed deer, turkeys, wild pigeons; and at nights, with pine torches, we fished and killed a great many with my bow and arrows, whenever we camped on my water course. Little creeks were full of fish at that season.

At length we reached Tuscaloosa, Ala. It was at that time a small log cabin village; but people from Tennessee were arriving daily, and in the course of that year it grew to be a considerable town.

I concluded to stop there, and my father and his family and Bryan and his family continued their journey to a small improvement eight miles below Tuscaloosa, on the river, where they settled, and, cutting down a canebrake, made corn; and killed bear, venison, and fish enough to supply the family.

I fished and had as much as we needed of that kind of food, but there were no bear nor deer in reach of the town, and I had to buy provisions at enormous rates. Flour, $25 a barrel; corn, $2½ a bushel; sugar, 50 cents a pound; coffee, 62½ cents a pound; salt, $8. a bushel; bacon, 37½ cents a pound. There was no beef to be had.

I built a little clapboard house on the river side of the town, which had not yet been surveyed. The land hunters from Georgia found us and continued their friendly calls on us until what money I had left from the long journey was eaten up. This was a circumstance for which I had made no provisions. I felt no uneasiness on that account; for I was as strong as two common men and could do anything from cutting and splitting fence rails to fine cabinet work. And in mercantile action was familiar with all the duties from the lumber house to the counting room. I could mix drugs and practice medicine as far as it was known in the interior of the country in those days. I felt no alarm at the fact that my money was gone. . .

[In the fall of 1818, he set out to remove his family to the Tombigby River.]

Our wagons being the first that had ever traversed

that unhacked forest, we of course, had to make a sufficient road for them to pass. It fell to my lot to go in advance and blaze the way, and by taking advantage of the open spaces amongst the trees, I saved a great deal of time. The woods having been burnt every year by the Indian hunters, there were but few logs remaining, and we got along very nicely. Except when we came to the water courses, we had but little difficulty. There are three little rivers and several creeks that crossed our path. We were forced to dig down the banks of these streams before crossing them.

In the afternoon of the twelfth day we landed on the banks of the Tombecbee river, three miles by land above where Columbus, Miss., now stands. . .

Soon all the families had houses, and all the hands went to work, cutting down and clearing the maiden forest to make fields to plant corn in. I cut down six acres of cane brake that jammed itself almost down to the place where I built my house. I burnt off the cane on the 5th of May, and planted it with a sharp stick on the 6th. Twice while it was growing I cut and beat down the young cane that sprouted up from the old cane stumps. That was all the work the crop got. The bear and raccoons ate and destroyed a good deal of it, and yet I gathered 150 Bushels of good corn. . .

In 1819, the government marked or surveyed a road from Nashville, Tenn., to Natchez, Miss. It crossed the Tombecbee river where Columbus, Miss., now stands; ten miles by water and three by land below where I had settled. I went down there to see what kind of a place it was. I found it a beautifully elevated situation, being about the head of navigation. I thought it was an eligible town site, and that it would be a town as soon as the country should settle up. I was so fully

impressed with the belief that a big town would some day loom up on that beautiful bluff that I went home, sawed a thousand boards; put them on a raft and floated them down the river with the intention of building a snug little house on a nice place I had selected, hoping to be able to realize a profit from it, as soon as people should move into the country.

2. THE MIGRATION OF A PLANTATION FORCE

Sarcastic news item from the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle,* Nov. 15, 1811.

Arrived in town last evening on his way to the Mississippi, Brigadier General Wade Hampton and suit, Commander in Chief of the western army, preceded by a division of fifty ragged, meagre looking negro infantry. Should his Excellency fail in obtaining laurels before Mobile, he will be able to make sugar at New Orleans.

3. THE HARDSHIPS OF POVERTY

News item from the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle,* Sept. 24, 1819.

Emigration to the West.– Passed through this place from Greenville District, bound for Chatahouchee, a man and his wife, his son and his wife, with a cart but no horse. The man had a belt over his shoulders and he drew in the shafts–the son worked by traces tied to the end of the shafts and assisted his father to draw the cart: the son's wife rode in the cart, and the old woman was walking, carrying a rifle and driving a cow.

4. EMIGRATION FROM THE PIEDMONT VIRGINIA TOBACCO DISTRICT

Extract from an editorial in the Lynchburg *Virginian,* Sept. 27, 1832.

. . . The constant emigration to the great West of our most substantial citizens, the bone and sinew of the country, and the declension of our business which

is the daily subject of complaint among our mercantile men and of which our naked streets and untenanted houses are such emphatic evidence–admonish us that something must be done to impede our downward course. It is idle to talk of the blasting effects of the Tariff system. We suffer most from our failure to keep pace in building internal improvements.

5. PROSPECTING FOR PLANTATIONS IN LOUISIANA, 1811

Letter of Francois Xavier Martin, New Orleans, March 22, 1811, to Col. John Hamilton, Elizabeth City, N.C. MS. in the possession of Gaspard Cusachs, Esq., New Orleans.

New Orleans March 22d 1811

Dr Sir, Your son has not deceived you in the idea he has given of the banks of the Mississippi. There are I believe no lands in the U. S. that repay so richl[y] the toils of the husbandman. Gov. Sergeant who is a great farmer and a pen and ink man tells me his hands yield him $270 each a year, in the neighborhood of Natchez. If you contemplate a removal I dare [say] you cannot do better than coming over. I am told the best place to settle is in this territory, on the west side of the river in the counties of the Attakapas and the Opelousas, or on the red river & its branches. People are removing thither, even from the Mississippi. The Attakapas is the county immediately on the Ocean. There are sugar lands I am told to be had very cheap. No sugar estate, at least very few are to be found there yet, owing to the expensiveness of this kind of establishment, but there are cotton plantations very superb indeed. The Opelousas are the next county, The red river settlements are higher up as the latitude of the city of Natchez. All these are cotton countries. These afford a pretty good field for our profession. But if that was

the object this city is the best spot in the U.S. A lawyer of common talent makes from $4 to 5000 several make $8 or $10.000 What is understood to be a fee in ordinary parlance is $500 They call a good fee $1000 or $1500.

Intending to visit the river the best season in the year is to start the first of September from your house, & make the best of your way for Knoxville–if a horseback the shortest way is by Salisbury & Buncombe county–if you choose to come in a chair (which may be done for I did it without any other difficulty than slow movement) go to Salem N.C. & from thence via Montgomery & Wyth Court Houses Va. to Knoxville, thence to Nashville–where you will wait for a few days for a caravan–that is to say a few companions to cross the Indian Nation. If you bring a servant one or two companions are as much as you may desire. If you are not in a chair you'll take a pack horse to carry provisions. If you do not think it commodious to travel on horse back, you'll find that the easiest and surely the quickest way. The worst of the road for a chair is betwixt Knoxville and Nashville the roads there being stony and hilly. Between Nashville and Natchez, a distance of about 500 miles the road is not bad after you cross the Tennessee river. If you are in a chair you will however progress much slower & the main inconvenience is that you will not be able to get every night to a house, & sometimes will have to stop early in the afternoon near a good spring, lest you may have no water near at your halting place at night, & sleep in the woods. I found it necessary to camp out but twice. Yet I found the precaution I took of getting a tent made at Nashville a very good one. For in the houses of the Indians vermin abounds & with my tent I did very well in a piazza or near the fodder stack. If you

travel in chair you will easily carry a tent–& I advise your taking a four gallon keg of water behind the chair. I was 20 days from Nashville to Natchez–15 of them among the Indians–travelling not more than 25 miles a day. Going a horseback you may go from 30 to 35 very well and be at a half breed's house almost every night. or at a white man's for there are several such on the road.

October is a good month to cross the Indian country for it is generally a dry month & the chief difficulty lies in crossing large swamps not causewayed, in w^h^ in wet weather one is apt to be mired. Provisions are also then abundant, the crops being just housed & a man and his horse find plenty of food which is not long the case, for the Indians being lazy and improvident are soon out of provisions. During this season the road is full of travellers a company is easily had. I would not however be afraid of going thro alone on the part of danger for the Indians are very quiet–but it would be a gloomy journey without company. The best security against any insult from the Indians is to avoid conversing with them as much as possible but there are [illegible] of their being troublesome–the most disagreeable thing is to fall in with a drunken party of them.

In the months of July and August the insects are very troublesome, a large fly especially called the Yellow-Jacket. Swarms of them will sometimes rest on a horse and worry him to death.

If you started in the Spring you might take water at Knoxville or Nashville–but then you should endeavor to be there about the first of March or April.

It would be a speedy way to return by water to Norfolk if you pursued your route to New Orleans.

If you preferred a Souther[n] rout you might come to Athens or Milledgeville in Georgia thence to Col. Ben. Hawkins, the Indian Agent among the Creek[s]–thence to Fort Stoddart–& thence to Natchez–this route is between 2 or 300 miles nearer but you have a greater portion of Indian country to travel thro'–the nation you pass thro' are less civilized, the road worst and less travelled and the water courses frequent and much wider.

If you do come you must expect to be on the river three or four months to view the country right, the Mississippi Territory, West Florida down to this city then cross the river to the Attakapas. Opelousas, Pointe Coupee and red river–you'll find a great variety of situations of which you may chuse an agreeable spot.

I still keep working at my history of N. Carolina I am told there may be found in the counties of Albemarle Sound a copy of a pamphlet & map printed by order of L^{d} Granville at the time of running the line–if you come across it get it for me & send it to M. C. Stephens the cashier of the Bank of Newbern, my agent.

They keep me tightly at work here I assure you They give me a salary of $2000 and $600 2/3 for my travelling expence but they get the worth of the money out of me I assure you. For there is not a day in the year that the court does not sit somewhere in this territory– One of the courts sits 4 months w'thout interruption–I seriously think to go to the bar. . .

6. PROBLEMS AND PROCEDURE OF MIGRATING SLAVEHOLDERS

Letters of Leonard Covington, 1808-1812, to various persons in Mississippi. MS. copies in the possession of Mrs. C. G. Brandon, Natchez, Miss.

Covington, who was the owner of Aquasco plantation and other lands in Maryland (and incidentally a Member of Congress), finding himself considerably in debt, about 1806, and tobacco prices much depressed, inquired of prospects in Mississippi Territory from friends who had migrated thither, including his brother Alexander. Receiving good reports, he organized a band of his neighbors as immigrants to Mississippi, and directed his brother to buy a tract of the public lands where they might settle together. Finding no purchaser at a satisfactory price, Covington retained his Maryland plantation and left twenty-six of his slaves to work it under an overseer. He sent the balance of his slaves, thirty-six in number, to Mississippi, via the Ohio River, in February, 1809. Covington himself was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the U.S. army before leaving Maryland. He went with his regiment down the Ohio, was in service at the capture of Baton Rouge, 1810, and in garrisoning Ft. Stoddard in 1811, etc. He was then recalled to Washington, D.C., and was sent on the Detroit campaign. He was killed in the battle of Christier's Field, Canada, 1813.

(a) Extract from a letter from Aquasco, Md., Aug. 17, 1808, to Alexander Covington in Mississippi.

I find that I can dispose of my Calvert lands, but for the present forbear to do so until every information and advice is received which I hold to be necessary for enabling me to mature my plans upon a [basis(?)] at once extended and profitable. Let me therefore beg your thoughts and reflections, upon the following points particularly, and in general such other information as you may deem useful to my purpose. You have never been circumstantial as to the manner and terms of hiring your people. It would certainly be material to the owner of slaves, whether their treatment in many respects was such as would be desirable, and in what manner the payments for hirelings were made; if in advance, or punctually at the months end. Whether the slaves were well fed; and only compelled to work from

"sun to sun." It is possible that so much labor may be required of hirelings and so little regard may be had for their constitutions as to render them in a few years, not only unprofitable, but expensive. In your case, who pays the doctor, abides the loss from death or running away? Do the negroes in that country generally look as happy and contented as with us, and do they as universally take husbands and wives and as easily rear their young as in Maryland? Would your negroes, think you, willingly return to Maryland? Are they satisfied with the change and with their treatment. Is the culture of cotton much easier, and a more certain crop? than our tobacco? Is there any probability that you will have any better market for your cotton than we shall have for our tobacco should our differences with Europe terminate in a war? Will this not depend upon the progress of manufactures in this country? Is the expense of making a cotton crop, where a man has hands of his own, considerable? What seems to be the current price of horses, cattle, &c., &c. The expense of clothing must be less than in a more northern climate. On lands of the U.S., such as you would like to purchase, what would be the probable expense of rough buildings and clearing for a small crop, say for ten or twelve hands? What time would such a preparation take? Fruit–is it abundant and well flavored, &c., &c? What seems to be the usual fare or allowance for working negroes, where a planter has a good many, from ten to 20, for example? Have you any sudden or great changes from heat to cold, and do you suffer as much from droughts or violent falls of rain as with us? I have a thousand more questions in my head, but pushed for time just now, must hope that you will say everything that I could ask, not forgetting politicks, the state of

religion, if there be much amongst you. As to dealings generally, are the folks pretty punctual, or is there much use for lawyers? Have you found the summer sun more intolerable than in this climate? Has the thermometer been at a greater degree of heat than 85 or 86, what we experience about the latter end of June?

(b) Extract from a letter from Aquasco, Aug. 7, 1808, to Capt. Jas. T. Magruder, Washington, Miss.

I am sorry that the prices and titles of land seem for the present in some measure to obstruct your plans, but it appears to me that your time cannot be illy spent under your existing arrangement, and possibly a purchase of lands, under existing circumstances could not be made to so great advantage as when the public office for the sale of lands shall be established, and as when the political horizon shall have been cleared of its present gloomy bodements. You mention that cash is scarce and cannot be had for produce (Cotton). I should think that this consideration alone would decide the preference in favor of your present plan of hiring your negroes, to that of cultivating the soil at your own expense and risk, if indeed the wages for hirelings are regularly and promptly paid up, (but of this neither of you have given particulars) and if the treatment in all respects to the slaves are such as we ought to wish for. Indeed I am extremely anxious to be informed of all these particular matters, and to have your full opinion and advice as to the propriety of my removing to that country, for I seriously assure (tho' I know you will be started at the assurance) you that I am at this moment earnestly employed in making arrangements to that end. I am now negotiating for the sale of the whole of my Calvert lands, with a full view to an investment and settlement in your country. Our friend Rawlings and my-

self have certainly got our affairs in such a train that I really think it probable that we shall set out this fall, and winter in the lower part of Kentucky, but possibly we may be delayed until the following spring. I will briefly give you the reasons which have moved me to the desire and resolution above advised you of, and again repeat my request that you will both favor me with your opinion and advice. In the first place, I find it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for me to meet all my pecuniary engagements, and to sink the debt incurred for the purchase of my lands. The interest upon 5 or 6 thousand dollars, under our present and apparent future commercial embarrassments, is really of itself not a slight matter, then no other means are to be found for its extinction than the uncertain and fluctuating one of a tobacco crop, which I verily believe has seen very much its best days. Add to this consideration the little chance I should have of adding to my property with my present prospect for a growing and large family, which must necessarily begin to be very expensive, and again, should a war with G. Britain terminate our present political disputes with that nation, I cannot but dread the predatory incursions which their naval superiority could enable them to make, when my little all would be entirely exposed to their merciless depredations, and, lastly, the negroes which I contemplate to take with me (amounting to 25, out of which 19 may be hired or worked to advantage) at the prices you have hired yours at, will be infinitely more productive in my expectations of compassing about $3000., and your advice will bear me out in it, I have it in contemplation to carry out with me some 10 or 15 families who are urgent in their requests for me to enlist them in my service of

clearing and cultivating such lands as I may make purchase of. I mean not to defray their expenses; this they can do themselves (such men as Billy Watson, J. Letchworth, H. Watson, etc., etc.) but they want a conductor and some place to settle upon when they shall have reached their place of destination with exhausted pockets and anxious minds. With a view to the permanence of my plans, I have to beg that you will cause your people (several of them at least) to write favorable accounts of their situation, and of the country, etc., etc. Sam is now in the hire of W. B. Ellis, but I still have hopes that some means will be found to forward him to you. At any rate, should I be with you the next Spring, something to your satisfaction shall be done.

(c) Extract of a letter from Aquasco, Jan. 16, 1809, to Levin Wailes, in Mississippi.

. . . Your most welcome and interesting favor mentioned above, certainly holds out the strongest inducements for my removal to that country, and in truth my mind has been set upon this object for months past. Arrangements are in a state of preparation to this end, and a recent appointment from Government of Lieut. Col. of Light Dragoons, with a direction to that quarter, would greatly facilitate my movements, yet my friend, there are innumerable difficulties in my way, and I hesitate as to the acceptance or non-acceptance of this highly honorable commission. The reluctance of my better half on the score of a military engagement, added to heavy pecuniary embarrassments, make my movements somewhat uncertain! I have had my Calvert lands for a long time in market, and at present am in treaty for the sale of a part, and should I surmount even a part of my difficulties, you may expect me.

Say to my dear brother I have never lost sight of the fond hope of enjoying his society and of participating in his pleasures and infelicities, for such we expect in this life. My calculations are on the subject of removal, to send my hands off in March or April, and follow after in June, via Tennessee. This arrangement is necessary on account of Becca's situation who expects a little one in April.

(d) Extract of a letter from Aquasco, Feb. 15, 1809, to Alexander Covington.

. . . Your wishes as signified some time since, as to an exchange of Sam for a negro girl, as also the conversion of your bonds into such property, has had my particular attention and I fear there will be difficulty in the execution from the failure of several efforts already made, but you may rely upon my best exertions. I am at present in negotiation with Mr. Chas. Smith near Benedict for the exchange of Sam but have not much prospect of success on tolerable terms. Sam himself maintains a sullen silence on the subject and neither yields consent to accompany my people, or to be sold or exchanged. I apprehend some trouble from him, but shall certainly make some disposition of him, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

Of all the devils that ever did beset a man in this life the want of money, in my present situation, is surely the most troublesome one. Not one cent can be had either from debtors or speculators. Two crops of tobacco on hand and 200 bbls. of corn, but all wont do. One of my Calvert farms is leased out for three years, and Famore's Neck is still in the market, and I have now a renewed prospect of making sale, but let this business end as it may, I consider the die is cast, and, God willing, our folks will be down upon you

the early part of June. Our friend Rawlings was here a day or two ago and has his arrangements in a certain state of forwardness, having actually sold out his interest in the Ducket Estate to the Judge, and in a few days will embrace $1500, which with 16 or 18 negroes will give him a bold start. As to myself, I repeat that I must be off, having accepted of a military commission (Lt. Col. of Lt. Dragoons). I consider the Rubicon passed. My present arrangements with the War Department will however, I hope, enable me to remain here or hereabouts until my better self shall be in a plight to accompany me. She promises an increase of family sometime in April, after which event, as soon as may be, we shall break ground (via Tennessee) descend the Cumberland or pass the Wilderness.

You will no doubt have heard of the appointment of our friend W. D. Beall to the same rank as myself in the infantry and I expect you will ere long hear of him in that quarter. General Wilkinson is now on his way to Orleans by water with a good number of newly appointed and newly recruited soldiers, and will command in that quarter in person. Pray look on our chances of settling in your neighborhood, and suffer not our worthy ones, Capt. M. and Mrs. W. to go astray. We must keep together if possible; but more of this anon. We shall need all of your aid upon the arrival of our people at the Natchez, who will be sent under charge of careful friends, such for example as Mr. T. Rawlings, A. Steele, &c. I thank you for advice touching certain necessary purchases in Pennsylvania or Kentucky, and shall endeavor to profit by it. I should most gladly purchase such mechanics as you recommend, but in truth negroes here are comparatively scarce and exceedingly dear.

In detailing to you some of the particulars of neighborhood occurrences, I perform a most melancholy duty when I announce the death of our dear relation and worthy friend Mr. Levin Mackall of H P. and Mr. Jno. Marlow of Matoponi. Worthy souls. They have but recently gone to that bourne from which no traveler has ever returned. Trust they have exchanged the troubles and cares of mortality for a world of rest and enjoyment.

The times are tough, but in other respects the good folks jog on as usual. The following is a list of my people, [i.e. slaves] such as go and such as stay:

FOR MISSISSIPPI				FOR AQUASCO			
Watt	32	Tom	36	Nick	50	Ned	24
Bess	24	Salisbury	32	Jack	22	Tabs	22
Dick	17	Moses	15	Bob	34	Nancy	46
Phill	12	Major	10	Pegg	20	Betsy	18
Dyche	35	Carolina	19	Isaac	10	Grace	5
Sal	10	Tom	5	Kitty	6	Charles	6
Pool	6	Nick	5	Charles	3	Nell	2
Hanna	1	Rachel	22	Henry	2 mos.	Christy	32
Ben	3	John	1	Flora	5	Nell	30
Jenny	26	Eliza	3	Nick	30	Dine	26
Nat	1	Jim	11	Nancy	5	Sophia	2
Rachel	11	Clem	9	Lucy	34	Joe	1
Tom	7	Cesar	5	Fanny		Moll	
Dasy	3	Cilla	12				
Bessie	11	George	9				
Flora	5						

(e) Extract of a letter from D. Rawlings and L. Covington, Georgetown, Md., March 6, 1809, to Alexander Covington and Jas. T. Magruder, Mississippi.

. . . This flows from Col. Covington and myself to our friends A. C. and J. T. Magruder, separately and collectively.

All difficulties are now surmounted and with the in-

dulgence of Heaven a part of our families will be off for the Mississippi Territory the 1st week in April, to be followed by ourselves, dear wives and children in June, or the latter part of the summer, if the Col. can make terms with the God of War, so as to secure delay until the hot months shall have passed away. Rich'd Skinner, John Steele and Thos. Rawlings will descend the Ohio with our people from Redstone, whither we shall attend them in person. We are now in this place together on a purchase of goods, and arrangements pertaining to the solemn task before us.

Regarding your friendship and judgment, we submit to you for preparation and arrangements for the reception of our negroes at a time which your own calculations may indicate, reckoning from the period intimated for out set out from our doors, and for their engagements, your experience will point out a mode far better than any plans we would possibly advise. That on this score the acts of our friends will be conclusive. L. Covington being obliged to continue on to Orleans, will perhaps leave Mrs. C. for awhile in Washington, where D. R. will certainly take residence till purchase and improvements can be made to advantage. If houses are not to be obtained in Washington with care and certainty at any time, it will be subject of consideration for you to determine the propriety of availing yourself of the first you can obtain, to commence a rent say in September; or, perhaps, one may be gotten immediately and a tenant put in it, subject to removal on our arrival. One house can contain us for a short period.

(f) Letter from L. Covington, Georgetown, April 25, 1809, to A. Covington, Washington, Miss.

This will reach you but a little while before our friend D. Rawlings, who is 12 days on his journey to

the waters of the Ohio. In a very few more, by the blessings of Providence he will have embarked at Brownsville (Redstone old fort) for the Natchez, where we hope for your preparation to receive him and family, together with about 50 black people. In my flock there are 35, two of whom are yours, as I have before apprized you, viz. Dick, a lad received in exchange for your Sam, and a negro girl, Ally, bought for you of Mr. Watson, 13 years of age. She cost 240 dollars, of which particular I know not that I have apprized you. One other of my gang, Charles, belongs to General Joseph Wilkinson, and with whom I wish you to act as with one of my own. Negro Rachel and two children (wife and children to my man Watt) I wish to be kept in employment as my own until a better disposition can be made of them, so that they may refund to me the expenses consequent upon their outfit and journey to that country. I have so repeatedly of late apprized you of our wishes, intentions and movements in relation to this enterprise, that it would be unnecessary to press you with particulars. Let us hope that you will not find so much trouble in making such arrangements and disposition for and with my people as may render them in such way and degree profitable as may reimburse and compensate me for my sacrifices here and my trouble and expense in conducting them to that land of promise. In truth I have fondly flattered myself that my estate in your country (should it please God the people arrive safe) will be far more profitable and more considerable than that I leave in Maryland; but I have to regret that so much of the trouble in the first stages of preparation should be imposed upon my friends. I am however in some degree consoled that should you need assistance, our friends Magruder and

perhaps Wailes will be at hand and will willingly give their aid. Dr. R. cannot fail to be most welcome and useful to your society, yet he too, will no doubt need your friendly advice and assistance. B. Ellis who goes with my people will be entitled to my consideration, and I pray you give to him thy patronage; if possible find him employment, and let my old man Isaac work with him at his trade, if you shall think it advisable to do so. Ellis will be indebted to me about $80 or $90 and employment will be my only chance for remuneration. To our mutual and worthy friend I shall owe a heavy debt of gratitude for his care and attention to my people on so long and so fatiguing a journey; let it therefore be your first care to make such means as I may have in your protection, subservient to his convenience. He may want waiters about his house, or nurses for his dear family of infants. We have sent only one trunk, the key of which Mrs. R. will deliver to his sister Harriet, in which some furniture for beds, &c., &c., will be found. Use all and everything to thy and our friend's wishes until we unite with thee. At present my going is uncertain. Becca is still in a state of expectation at Galilee, and my dependence upon public men still adds to the uncertainty.

You will no doubt have heard and rejoiced at the settlement of our differences with G. Britain. This circumstance has given rise to great expectations in flour, but as yet has had no effect upon the price of tobacco. In what way it will operate upon the Gallic Emperor, or what effect it may have upon continental Europe is but a subject of speculation which only time can elucidate.

I have repeatedly and circumstantially related to you the result of our endeavor to purchase Parson, Gantt's

negro; it is now only necessary to add that a Power of Att'y is now on the way for you as I have been a few days since informed.

God bless you and yours, and all friends.

(g) Extract of a letter from same to same, dated Galilee, Md., July 22, 1809.

I wish you had given me the names of those my people that you had not been able to hire; pray be particular on this head as every circumstance which can tend to shew the prospective gain or the hopes of obtaining comfortable quarters in that country, both for whites and blacks, will not a little facilitate my plans here; for the blacks, the idea of contentment and the assurance of good living is everything; for the former, those hopes of gain on easy terms and at short periods, will stimulate to anything.

Will a deficiency of crops be the result of the drought you complain of? I trust that you have not underrated your present prospects, and that the proceeds of your labor will not disappoint your expectations; but are not $2000 small earnings for your force? Did your "hire list" amount to nearly that sum.

Why has friend R. allowed us to remain so long in suspense concerning his negro man who fled from him at Pittsburg? It was of sufficient interest with all his friends to be anxious about his recovery. How does the matter stand, and what has become of Cartwright and his Golden Dreams?

I wish I had the time to touch on the subject of politicks, yet I will look a little to its effects. In every view of the subject, its bearings upon our feelings and our pecuniary interests, I cannot but contemplate it with feelings of the deepest interests and with sentiments of the profoundest regret. The causes which have lead

to our present distressed situation, are ever to be deprecated, and are certainly of the most melancholy cast, for I consider our political dissensions, or rather the artifice of a certain sect of politicians, of the primary cause of the distress which we every day meet with among the poorer class of our citizens, particularly those who are indebted (both rich and poor), and numerous indeed is this class. I believe I am within the bounds of truth when I say literally not one cent can now be had for tobacco, the only staple of our country; the price truly is as flat as a flounder, or as Mathew Lyon's pan cake, nor do I see even a distant prospect of better times. The crops now on the ground are far exceeding any former year within my recollection when and where can we possible get a vent for such a redundant luxury. That the cotton business may, ere long, be as completely overdone as the tobacco, is my constant dread; what think you of the matter? and how now stands the market and prospects with this article. Allow me, before I conclude to repeat my wishes and expectations that you will have determined and fixed upon some permanent plan and place for our future residence, where our union may be cemented by some wise scheme of neighborly affiliation. Let your fraternity embrace all such as are willing, and whose congeniality of mind and temper will insure us an exception, from cabals, intrigues, &., &., Go into the woods, will be my advise, where we can have elbow room without much cost.

(h) Extract of a letter from same to same, Galilee, Md., Aug. 17, 1809.

Say to D. Rawlings that I have seen his letters to General Bowie and A. Contee, and the impression made by their contents is, that he is dissatisfied with the country. He tells Contee of the high price of poultry and

vegetables and grain, and the scarcity of money and of bad living generally. To General Bowie he says that he has not yet fixed himself, but designs to cast about this Fall for an elligible situation, hence the good folks conclude that he wishes himself back again, that he is quite disappointed in his expectations and calculations, and, because "money is scarce there in Nottingham," and "Payment for hireling's wages cannot be had," the wise ones "shrewdly suspect" we have made a bad business in sending our negroes thither. Pray let him put these good folks to rights and not suffer them to raise doubts and suspicions in men's minds for which there is no grounds.

It seems to me that under the present reduced price of produce, and upon the chances for better times, (for I take it that your cotton market is in the same predicament with ours for tobacco) difficult to determine what would be the best plan to adopt in relation to my settlement for the ensuing year. To give high prices for land rent and the necessary outfit for cultivation, might produce pecuniary embarrassment, or at best, yield a precarious and scanty profit. To purchase lands would produce certain debt with uncertain prospects of payment (for I shall not have the last to advance, being disappointed in the sale of my Calvert lands; no money being to be had, the bargain of course is void). To continue the hiring system seems to be liable to very many objections. . .

(i) Letter from L. Covington, Hancock Town, Md., Oct. 15, 1809, to D. Rawlings, Mississippi.

In a letter to my brother a few days since you are apprised of my departure from Galilee for Mississippi. I have there said that Mr. Waters' family would not accompany us to your country, being unable to com-

mand the requisite stock of cash. Things have however eventuated more favorably since, and by express we are requested to await his coming and this day we expect him and family, bag and baggage, to overtake us. Tomorrow morning we resume our march and, God willing, shall be with you in the early part of December. We are, however, under some apprehension on account of the state of the western waters: at present we are told that the Ohio is impassable, so low are its waters. Wheeling is now our aim, and if we find the waters too low to set us afloat when we arrive there, we shall probably continue our route by land through the states of Ohio and Kentucky to Louisville, where there is never a want of water.

Our party will consist of Mr. W. and family, including 5 or 6 negroes, your brother Thomas, James Magruder, Sammy Sasscer (my man Friday) Wife, five children, five servants and self, with the damnedest cavalcade that ever man was burdened with: not less than seven horses compose my troop: they convey a close carriage (Jersey Stage) a gig and horse cart, so that my family are transported with comfort and convenience, though at considerable expense. All these odd matters and contrivances I design to take with me to Mississippi if possible. Mr. Waters will also take down his wagon and team.

Mr. Waters will be greatly disappointed should you not receive this letter in time to procure for him some snug, cheap convenient little tenement; this he begs you will do for him if possible or make such other provision for him as your better judgment and circumstances may dictate. . .

(j) Letter from L. Covington, Cincinnati, Ohio, Dec. 1, 1809, to A. Covington.

I snatch a hasty moment from the bustle of starting and a crowd of engagements to apprise you of my situation. This will be handed you by Mr. T. Rawlings, or Sammy Sasscer, who is my agent and has charge of my horses, to be delivered to your care. I send them through by land on account of the low state of the water, and to save expense. After a most tedious, difficult and laborious voyage from Wheeling we arrived here on the 20th Ult. and have been detained in executing certain military duties at the Garrison in Newport, but shall again weigh anchor to-morrow or the next day and again court the favor of the liquid current, which still remains unpropitious, from which I anticipate a renewal of my difficulties and fatigues. To drag through shoals, sandbars and ripples is my dreaded fate, but we all meet it with good health and unbroken spirits. Look for me about the end of the year and make some preparations for the wearied travellers. Our preparations in the way of provisions will be trifling. The want of room in our boat, and scanty means confine me to a few hundred pounds of pork and a few bbls. of flour. Pray provide for my people so as to keep them in motion and in comfort if their earnings be adequate. God bless you and all friends. Becca most affectionately unites in love and best wishes for Sister Harriet and your dear family.

(k) Letter from same to same, Baton Rouge, La., April 13, 1812.

I received your favor on Saturday and the passing of Col. White affords me an opportunity of replying at once.

Cotton; Cotton; Pray hold on as long as possible. Let Greenleaf dwell in his difficulties, and McCullum

speculate, in fancy feed upon airy castles and jog on in the dull pursuits of civil life.

Bacon; Bacon; Rely upon it, this indispensable article will be cheaper in three or four weeks. Boats will be down; they have only been detained from the fear of the earth quake, and by the 1st of June, rely upon it, we shall have an abundance of such indispensable articles as we may want.

I would to God that I could say when I shall be relieved from this disagreeable duty; at present all is doubt and uncertainty, and from prospects I may be detained here 2 or 3 weeks.

(1) Business memorandum left by General Covington with his brother in 1812.

Make a payment to Greenleaf in negroes at $1100 if possible, and receive Bullet's note to be applied towards an establishment for my negroes the ensuing year. Dr. Rawlings will pay $41.00 toward the settlement of my taxes the present year. Negroes, Jack and Maria are hired to Mr. John Newman at $19.50 per month. John's hire commences on the 1st and Maria's on the 6th May inst. having settled with Mr. Newman to the 1st of May, and have received of him Capt. Magruder's note for $64.00, (including interest) paid in advance for the hire of Jack and Maria, who are to remain with him until Xmas.

I have intimations that McCallum will buy a negro of me; this is very desirable if he will give a fair price. Coln. Wood's debt may be met with Capt. Magruder's notes, due in Jany, if things can be so managed.

I shall leave $100 with wife for the purchase of little necessaries, but she suggests that a part might be laid out in bagging and cordage to advantage at the present reduced price of those articles.

You will please give unto such terms with McCullam as you may deem expedient and best for my interest, if he will continue another year. There is a balance due from J. Magruder of $15.00 or $16.00 which you may settle for when you settle up. He has mentioned the subject to me and offered his due bill.

In all cases whatever you and wife may do will be perfectly satisfactory.

XVIII. FRONTIER SETTLEMENT

1. PIONEERING IN THE HEROIC STAGE, KENTUCKY

Extracts from the journal of Col. Richard Henderson. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, CC, vol. i, 23 ff.

Monday, March 20, 1775. Having finished my treaty with the Indians at Wataugah, set out for Louisa, and arrived at John Shelby's in the evening.

Tuesday, 21st. Went to Mr. John Sevier's in company of Col. Williams and Col. Hart, and staid that day.

Wednesday, 22d. Messrs Williams and Hart set off home, and I staid with Mr. Sevier.

Thursday, 23d. Still at Mr. Sevier's–N.B.–because our horses were lost. Though not uneasy, as Messrs Hart and Luttrell made a poor hand of travelling.

Friday, 24th. Set off in pursuit of Mr. Hart and Luttrell. Overtook them both and lodged at Capt. Bledsoe's.

Saturday, 25th. Came to Mr. Calliway's.

Sunday, 26th. Staid there.

Monday, 27th. Employed in storing away goods. . .

Thursday, 30th. Arrived at Capt. Martins, in Powell's Valley.

Friday, 31st. Employed in making a house to secure the waggons, as we could not possibly clear the road any farther.–N.B. My wagon and Sam'l Henderson's came up, also Mr. Luttrell in the evening.

Wednesday [April], 5th. Started off with our pack-

horses, about 3 o'clock. Travelled about five miles, to a large spring. The same evening Mr. Luttrell went out a hunting, and has not yet returned. The same evening Sam'l Henderson's and John Farrar's horses took a scare with their packs, running away with the same, saddle and bridle. Farrar's saddle-bags, and other things damaged. Next morning Sam'l Henderson and Farrar went in pursuit of their horses, saddles, etc. The same evening John Farrar returned to our camp with news that they had found all their goods; but two of their horses were missing.

Thursday, 6th. Sent John Farrar back with provisions to meet and assist Sam'l Henderson, with orders to stay with him till they overtook us, as we promised to wait for them at the Cumberland Gap.

Friday, 7th. Sam'l Henderson and John Farrar returned to us, with their horses, packs, and every thing safe, we having waited at our camp, ten miles below Martin's for them. . .

Saturday, 8th. Started about 10 o'clock.–Crossed Cumberland Gap about four miles.–Met about forty persons returning from the Cantuckey on account of the late murder by the Indians. Could prevail on one only to return. Mem. Several Virginians who were with us returned.

Sunday, 9th. Arrived at Cumberland river, where we met Robt. Wills and his son returning.

Monday, 10th. (April 1775) Dispatched Capt. Cocke to the Cantuckey to inform Capt. Boone that we were on the road. Continued at camp that day on account of the badness of the weather.

Tuesday, 11th. Started from Cumberland–made a very good day's travel of near twenty miles. Killed beef, etc.

Wednesday, 12th. Travelled about 5 miles. Prevented going any farther by the rains and the high waters at Richland Creek.

Thursday, 13th. Last night arrived near our camp. Stewart and ten other men camped within half a mile of us, on their return from Louisa. Camped that night at Lorrel River. They had well nigh turned three or four of our Virginians back.

Friday, 4th. Travelled about twelve miles to a camp.

Saturday, 15. Travelled about eighteen miles, and camped on the north of Rock-Castle River: This river is a fork of the Cumberland. Lost an axe this morning at camp.

Sunday 16th. About 12 o'clock met James McAfee with eighteen other persons returning from Cantuckey. Travelled about twenty-two miles, and camped on the head of Dick's River where Luna from McAfee's camp came to us resolved to go to the Louisa.

Monday, 17th. Started about 3 o'clock. Prevented by rain. Travelled seven miles.

Tuesday, 18th. Travelled about sixteen miles. Met Michael Stoner with pack-horses to assist us. Camped that night in the eye of the rich land. Stoner brought us excellent beef in plenty.

Wednesday, 19th. Travelled about sixteen miles. Camped on Otter Creek.–a good mill-place.

Thursday, 20th. Arrived at Fort Boone, on the mouth of Otter Creek, Cantuckey River, where we were saluted by a running fire of about twenty-five guns –all that were then at the fort. The men appeared in high spirits, and much rejoiced on our arrival.

On viewing the Fort and finding the plann not sufficient to admit of building for the reception of our company, and a scarcity of ground suitable for clearing at

such an advanced season, was at some loss how to proceed. Mr. Boone's company, having laid off most of the adjacent good land into lots of two acres each, and taking it as it fell to each individual by lot, were in actual possession and occupying them. After some perplexity resolved to erect a fort on the opposite side of a large lick near the river bank, which would place us at the distance of about three hundred yards from the fort—the only commodious place where we could be of of any service to Boone's men, or *vice versa.*

On communicating my thought to Mr. Luttrell on this subject, with my reasons for preferring this place to a large spring over a hill, at three quarters of a mile from Fort Boone, he readily gave his assent, and seemed pleased with the choice. Mr. Hart said, in a very cold, indifferent manner, 'he thought it might do well enough.' Accordingly 'twas resolved, that a fort should be built on said place, etc.—Moved our tents to the ground—i.e. Mr. Luttrell and myself and our particular companies lodged there Saturday night.

Sunday, 23d. Remained at camp. Passed the day without public worship—nothing of that kind having been put in practice before, and ourselves much at sixes and sevens and no place provided for that purpose.

Saturday, 22nd. Finished running off all the lots we could conveniently get—to wit, fifty-four, and gave notice of our intention of having them drawn for in the evening. But as Mr. Robert McAfee, his brother Samuel, and some more, were not well satisfied whether they would draw or not, wanting to go down the river about fifty miles, near Capt. Harrod's settlement, where they had begun improvements, and left them on the late alarm; and being informed by myself in hearing of all attending, that such settlement should not entitle them

to lands, etc., from us, and appearing much concerned and at a loss what to do, on which the lottery was deferred till next morning at sunrise; thereby giving them time to come to a resolution.

Sunday, 23d. Drawed lots, etc. Spent the day without public worship. . .

Wednesday, 26th. Other people coming, employed in showing lots for their use. Sowed small seed, planted cucumbers, etc.

Thursday, 27th. Employed in clearing fort lot, etc.

Wednesday, 3rd. Finished the magazine.–Capt. John Floyd arrived here, conducted by one Jo Drake from a camp on Dick's river, where he had left about thirty men of his company from Virginia; and said he was sent by them to know on what terms they might settle our lands. That if it was reasonable they would pitch on some place on which to make corn, or otherwise go on the north side of the river. Was much at a loss on account of this gentleman's arrival, and message as he was surveyor of Fincastle under Col. Preston, a man who had exerted himself against us, and said and did everything in his power and invention, as I am informed, to defeat our enterprise and bring it into contempt. 'Tis said, that he not only had our case represented, or rather misrepresented, to Lord Dunmore, but actually wrote to Governor Martin on the subject. This man (Capt. Floyd.) appeared to have a great share of modesty, an honest, open countenance, and no small share of good sense, pleading in behalf of himself and his whole company; among which were, one Mr. Dandridge, (son of Nat. West Dandridge of Virginia) and one Mr. Todd, two gentlemen of the Law in their own parts, and several other young gentlemen of good families. We thought it most advisable to secure them

to our interest, if possible, and not show the least distrust of the intentions of Capt. Floyd–on whom we intend to keep a very strict watch.

Accordingly, though the season was too far advanced to make much corn, yet we promised them land, etc.,–1000 acres to the principal gentlemen on the terms of Henderson & Company. This we should not have done, but for the scarcity of men and the doubt with respect to the Virginians coming into our measures, acknowledging title, etc.

We restrained these men to settle somewhere in a compact body for mutual defence, and to be obedient to such laws as should from time to time be made for the government of all the adventurers on our purchase; and gave them leave to make choice of any lands not before marked by any of our men, or a certain Captain Harrod and his men who have settled somewhere about fifty miles west of us, on the head of Salt River, and of whom we could form no conjecture, but thought it best to prevent any interruption to him or his men till we should know what he intended with respect to us and our title.

The day before this, one Capt. Collomees and Mr. Berry, with five other men, arrived here from Frederick or somewhere in the north-west frontiers of Virginia. They had heard nothing of our purchase when they left home, but merely set off to view this country, etc. Hearing of us with our pretensions they thought proper to come, though they seemed not very conversable; and I thought I could discover in our first intercourse a kind of sullen dissatisfaction and reserve, which plainly indicated a selfish opinion to our disadvantage. This after some time, wore off, and they gladly treated with us for lands and other indulgences, which we granted.

Thursday, 4th. (may, 1775) Capt. Floyd returned

home; seemed highly pleased with gaining his point of settling, etc. I must not omit to mention here, that Mr. Floyd expressed great satisfaction on being informed of the plan we proposed for legislation, and said he must most heartily concur in that and every other measure we should adopt for the well governing or good of the community in general. This plan is exceedingly simple, and I hope will prove effectual. 'Tis no more than the people's sending delegates to act for them in general convention.

Friday, 5th. Nothing material. Let Mr. Wm. Cocke have five yards and a half oznaburgs off my old tent, for which I charge him 5s. 6d. V. money.

Saturday, 6th. Lived on as usual. Very little of Mr. Hart's company. He keeps much to himself–scarcely social.

Sunday, 7th, (May 1775). Went into the woods with my brothers, Nat. and Samuel, and Capt. Boone, after a horse left out on Saturday night. Staid till night and on our return found Capt. Harrod and Col. Thomas Slaughter, from Harrodstown on Dicks River. Col. Slaughter and Harrod seemed very jocose, and in great good humor.

Monday, 8th. Rainy.–Was much embarassed with a dispute between the above mentioned gentlemen. Capt. Harrod with about 40 men settled on Salt River last year; was drove off; joined the army with thirty of his men; and being determined to live in the country, had come down this spring from Monongohala, accompanied by about fifty men, most of them young persons without families. They came on Harrod's invitation. These men had got possession some time before we got here, and I could not certainly learn on what terms or pretence they meant to hold land; and was doubtful that

so large a body of lawless[6] people from habit and education, would give us great trouble and require the utmost exertion of our abilities to manage them; and, not without considerable anxiety and some fear, wished for an intercourse, with Capt. Harrod, who, I understood, was chief and had all the men in that quarter under his absolute direction and command. But was soon undeceived as to this point. Though these gentlemen were friendly to each other, and open in all their conduct, they were warm advocates and champions for two different parties. A schism had raised between Harrod's men, whom he had brought down the Ohio with him, and those from divers parts of Virginia and elsewhere, amounting to about fifty in number on both sides. Harrod's men being first on the spot, claimed a priority of choice; and had they have stopped there, the dispute would scarcely ever had existed, for the others seemed willing to give into such a preference. But the complaint laid before us by Col. Slaughter, in behalf of the other men, and on which we were to decide, was, that Harrod's men had not contented themselves with the choice of one tract of land apiece, but had made it their entire business to ride through the country, mark every piece of land they thought proper built cabins, or rather, hog-pens, to make their claims notorious at the place, and by that means had secured every good spring in a country of twenty odd miles in length and almost as broad. That, though it was in those parts one entire good tract of land, and no advantage in choice except as to water, yet it was unjustly depriving them of every essential inducement to their settling in the country. That, for their own part, after giving up, that Capt. Harrod should, as to himself have any indulgence, that

[6] They were chiefly raised on Mononga. where no law had ever extended, or the right to the soil been determined.

his men might make a choice for himself first; and then, that they might come in for the second choice. This was strenuously urged by their advocate, Colonel Slaughter, a sensible and experienced old gentleman—a man of good family and connexions, and a great friend to our country, and with this farther in his favor, that the men he appeared for, had, from their first assembling together at Harrodsburg, in obedience to our written declaration respecting encouraging settlers in our country, industriously employed themselves in clearing land and making ready for as large a crop of corn as possible, depending on a punctual performance on our part. That Capt. Harrod's men had totally neglected to do any thing that way, there being at this time in Harrods settlement at the Boiling Spring, six miles from Harrodsburg, not more than three acres cleared and ready to be planted, and that for the Captain only; whilst in less time with the same number of hands, they had somewhere between sixty and eighty.

Fair and clear as this case was in favor of Slaughter's men, upon every principle of justice and our own express declaration in writing, we were afraid to determine in favor of the right side; and not being capable, if we could have wished it, to give a decree against them, our embarassment was exceedingly great. Much depended on accommodating the matter, which we dare not offer. The day favored us, being rainy, and caused them to spend it with us, by which means we had it in our power to get better acquainted with the opposite gentlemen, and give a turn to the dispute for the present, trusting to a future day, and hoping that some conciliating measures would be offered and agreed to by themselves.

To divert the debate on the foregoing occasion, and

draw them a little off so disagreeable a subject, the lawless condition we were in, and the want of some such thing, made the subject conversation, mixed with occasional matters.–It answered the end. Our plan of legislation, the evils pointed out, the remedies to be applied, etc., etc., were acceded to without hesitation.–The plan was plain and simple; 'twas nothing novel in its essence; a thousand years ago it was in use, and found by every year's experience since to be unexceptionable. We were in four distinct settlements. Members or delegates from every place, by free choice of individuals, they having first entered into writings solemnly binding themselves to obey and carry into execution such laws as representatives should from time to time make, concurred with by a majority of the proprietors present in the country.

The reception this plan met with from these gentlemen, as well as Capt. Floyd, a leading man in Dicks River settlement, gave us great pleasure; and therefore we immediately set about the business. Appointed Tuesday, the 23d instant, at Boonsborough, and accordingly made out writings for the different towns to sign; and wrote to Capt. Floyd, appointing an election, etc. Harrodsburgh and the Boiling Spring settlement received their summons verbally by the gentlemen aforesaid.

Tuesday, 9th. (May 1775) Col. Slaughter and Capt. Harrod took their departure in great good humor, and apparently well satisfied. Our plantation business went on as usual; some people planting, others preparing, etc.–We found it very difficult at first, and indeed yet, to stop great waste in killing meat. Many men were ignorant of the woods, and not skilled in hunting, by which means some would get lost, others, and indeed at

all times, shoot, cripple and leave the game, without being able to get much, tho' always able to keep from want, and some times good store by them. Others of wicked and wanton disposition, would kill three, four, five, or half a dozen buffaloes, and not take half a horse-load from them all. These evils we endeavored to prevent, but found it not practicable; many complaining that they were too poor to hire hunters, others loved it much better than work; and some who knew little of the matter, but conceited, from having a hunting-shirt, tomahawk and gun, thought it an insult to offer another to hunt for him, especially as pay was to be made.

For want of a little obligatory law, or some restraining authority, our game soon, nearly as soon as we got here, if not before, was drove very much. Fifteen or twenty miles was as short a distance as our good hunters thought of getting meat, nay, sometimes they were obliged to go thirty, though by chance once or twice a week, a buffalo was killed within five or six miles. . .

Tuesday, [May], 16th. Continue eating meat without bread, and should be very contented, were it not for the absence of four men who went down the river by land, on Friday sennight, to bring up the goods left by Capt. Callomees at the mouth of Elkhorn, about fifty or sixty miles below. . .

Wednesday, 17th. Hunters not returned.

Thursday, No meat but fat bear meat. Almost starved—drank a little coffee, and trust to luck for dinner. Am just going to our little plant patches, in hopes the greens will bear cropping; if so, a sumptuous dinner indeed. No meat but fat bear and a little spoiled buffaloe and elk, which we made out with pretty well, depending on amendment tomorrow.

2. VIRGINIA FRONTIER, 1715

Extracts from the journal of John Fontaine, printed in Ann Maury's *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York, 1853), 264-276.

. . . We continued on to the other side of the river, which is King and Queen County. At eleven of the clock we mounted our horses, and went this day to Mr. Baylor's, where we put up, and were well entertained. He lives upon Mattapony River, and is one of the greatest dealers for tobacco in the country. . .

[Nov.] 12th. [1715] About seven of the clock we breakfasted; about nine, a servant of Mr. Moor's brought me my horse to Mr. Baylor's and at eleven we took our leave, and continued on our way. The day very windy. We see by the side of the road an Indian cabin, which was built with posts put into the ground, the one by the other as close as they could stand, and about seven feet high, all of an equal length. It was built four-square, and a sort of roof upon it, covered with the bark of trees. They say it keeps out the rain very well. The Indian women were all naked, only a girdle they had tied around the waist, and about a yard of blanketing put between their legs, and fastened one end under the forepart of the girdle, and the other behind. Their beds were mats made of bulrushes upon which they lie, and have one blanket to cover them. All the household goods was a pot.

We continued on our road, and saw several squirrels, and were on horseback till ten of the clock at night, and then arrived at Mr. Robert Beverly's house, which they reckon from Mr. Baylor's thirty miles. The roads very good. Here we were well received.

13th. It being blowy and showery weather we remained here. After breakfast we went to see Mr. Beverly's vineyards. This Beverly is the same that made

the History of Virginia. When we were in his vineyard we saw the several sorts of vines which are natural, and grow here in the woods. This vineyard is situated upon the side of a hill, and consists of about three acres of land; he assures us that he made this year about four hundred gallons of wine. He hath been at great expenses about this improvement. He hath also caves and a wine press; but according to the method they use in Spain, he hath not the right method for it, nor his vineyard is not rightly managed. He hath several plants of French vines amongst them.

14th. The weather was very bad, and rained hard. We were very kindly received. We diverted ourselves within doors, and drank very heartily of the wine of his own making, which was good; but I found by the taste of the wine, that he did not understand how to make it. This man lives well; but though rich, he has nothing in or about his house but what is necessary. He hath good beds in his house, but no curtains; and instead of cane chairs, he hath stools made of wood. He lives upon the product of his land.

15th. Blowing weather. Mr. Beverly would not suffer us to go. He told me that the reason he had for making so large a vineyard was, that about four years ago he made a wager with the gentlemen of the country, who thought it impossible to bring a vineyard to any perfection. The following was the agreement: If he would give them one guinea then, in hand, they would give him ten, if, in seven Years' time, he could cultivate a vineyard that would yield, at one vintage, seven hundred gallons of wine. Mr. Beverly gave a hundred guineas upon the above-mentioned terms, and I do not in the least doubt but the next year he will make the seven hundred gallons, and win the thousand guineas.

We were very merry with the wine of his own making, and drank prosperity to the vineyard. . .

We continued on our way until we came five miles above this land, and there we went to see the Falls of Rappahannoc River. The water runs with such violence over the rocks and large stones that are in the river, that it is almost impossible for boat or canoe to go up or down in safety. After we had satisfied our curiosity, we continued on the road. About five we crossed a bridge that was made by the Germans, and about six we arrived at the German settlement. We went immediately to the minister's house. We found nothing to eat, but lived on our small provisions and lay upon good straw. We passed the night very indifferently.

21st. Our beds not being very easy, as soon as it was day, we got up. It rained hard, but notwithstanding, we walked about the town, which is palisaded with stakes stuck in the ground, and laid close the one to the other, and of substance to bear out a musket-shot. There are but nine families, and they have nine houses, built all in a line; and before every house, about twenty feet distant from it, they have small sheds built for their hogs and hens, so that the hog-sties and houses make a street. The place that is paled in is a pentagon, very regularly laid out; and in the very centre there is a block-house, made with five sides, which answers to the five sides of the great inclosure; there are loop-holes through it, from which you may see all the inside of the inclosure. This was intended for a retreat for the people, in case they were not able to defend the palisadoes, if attacked by the Indians.

They make use of this block-house for divine service. They go to prayers constantly once a day, and have two

sermons on Sunday. We went to hear them perform their service, which was done in their own language, which we did not understand; but they seemed to be very devout, and sang the psalms very well.

This town or settlement lies upon Rappahannoc River, thirty miles above the Falls, and thirty miles from any inhabitants. The Germans live very miserably. We would tarry here some time, but for want of provisions we are obliged to go. We got from the minister a bit of smoked beef and cabbage, which were very ordinary and dirtily drest.

We made a collection between us three of about thirty shillings for the minister; and about twelve of the clock we took our leave, and set out to return; the weather hazy, and small rain. In less than three hours we saw nineteen deer. About six of the clock we arrived at Mr. Smith's house, which is almost upon the Falls of Rappahannoc River. We have made this day thirty miles. Mr. Smith was not at home, but his housekeeper entertained us well; we had a good turkey for dinner, and beds to lie on.

22d. At seven in the morning we mounted our horses, and we met upon the road with two huntsmen; we went with them into the woods, and in half an hour they shot a buck and a doe, and took them on their horses. So we left them, and continued on our road, and about four of the clock we arrived at one Mr. Buckner's house upon Rappahannoc River, where we tarried the night. We had good punch, and were very merry.

23d. At eight in the morning breakfasted, got our horses, and continued on our road. About eleven we met with Mr. Beverly, and went with him to see a piece of land he had to sell, containing five hundred acres. It lies upon Rappahannoc River, and fronts one mile on

the river, and on one side of it there is a large creek navigable for sloops, and an old house upon the land, with one hundred acres of cleared land about it; the other four hundred acres have wood growing on it, but all the large timber is cut down. He asked £50 per hundred for it, which I thought too dear, and we could not agree. . .

April, the 2d day. We set out with a guide for Christanna, for this house is the most outward settlement on this side of Virginia, which is the south side. We have no roads here to conduct us, nor inhabitants to direct the traveller. We met with several Indians, and about twelve we came to Meherrin River, opposite to Christanna Fort. We saw this day several fine tracts of land, and plains called savannas, which lie along by the river side, much like unto our low meadow lands in England; there is neither tree nor shrub that grows upon these plains, nothing but good grass, which for want of being mowed or eaten down by cattle, grows rank and coarse. These places are not miry, but good and firm ground; they are subject to inundation after great rains and when the rivers overflow, but there is seldom over six or eight inches of water, which might easily be prevented by ditching. . .

The 3d day. About nine in the morning we got up and breakfasted. Mr. Griffin, who is an Englishman, is employed by the government to teach the Indian children, and to bring them to Christianity. He remains in this place, and teaches them the English tongue, and to read the Bible and Common Prayer, as also to write. He hath been now a year among them, and hath had good success. He told the Governor that the Indian chiefs or great men, as they style themselves, were coming to the fort to compliment him. These

Indians are called Saponey Indians, and are always at peace with the English; they consist of about two hundred persons, men, women, and children; they live within musket-shot of the fort, and are protected by the English from the insults of the other Indians, who are at difference with the English; they pay a tribute every year to renew and confirm the peace, and show their submission. This nation hath no king at present, but is governed by twelve of their old men, which have power to act for the whole nation, and they will all stand to every thing that these twelve men agree to, as their own act. . .

The 4th day. In the morning I rid out with the Governor and some of the people of the fort, to view the lands, which were not yet taken up. We saw several fine tracts of land, well watered, and good places to make mills on. I had a mind to take some of it up, so I asked the Governor if he would permit me to take up 3,000 acres, and he gave me his promise for it. I went through the land I designed to take up, and viewed it. It lies upon both sides of Meherrin River, and I design to have it a long square, so that I shall have at least three miles of river in the tract. I am informed that this river disgorgeth itself into the Sound of Currytuck. This river, though large and deep, is not navigable, because of the great rocks it falls over in some places. There is a great deal of fish in this place; we had two for dinner—about sixteen inches long—which were very good and firm.

I gave ten shillings to Captain Hicks for his trouble in showing me the land, and he promises that he will assist me in the surveying of it. We saw several turkeys and deer, but we killed none. We returned to the fort about five of the clock.

3. NORTH CAROLINA INTERIOR SETTLEMENTS IN 1768

Anonymous journal of a trip from Newbern to Salisbury, N.C., in October, 1768. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, KK, no. 90.

I set out from Newbern on Monday the 3d of October. Traveled 30 miles through low piney Land, saw but few Settlements till I came to Coxs Ferry on Nuse River. put up here. Set out the 4th day Crossed the ferry went by the way of Kingstown from there to Dobbs Courthouse (the land piney and sandy. Saw some good settle'ts.) being 28 miles for this day. put up here at Codes. Cost 5/–Set out the 5th day. Crosed Nuse River at Dicksons store. Traveled some miles along the Rode that leeds to Duplin Courthouse, then took a Right hand Rode which I followed till I came to Wm. Bushes where I put up. Cost 3/–being about 30 miles for this day. Saw fue settlements the Land piney and sandy in some places & Clay in others. This Bush loves to Drink Cyder & play on the fiddle &c. a small old fellow with a great Bunch of hair tied Behind. a young man Who was kinsman to the old man got groged drinking Cyder & had his Jacot burned up, and was obliged to go home without. Set out the 6th day. Traveled through a poor sandy country but fue Settlements and Very Croked Rode till I Came to Smiths Ferry on the Northwest of Cape fare River where I put up for this day having traveled about 32 miles. My exps. here 3/–Set out the 7th day. Crosed the ferry and got Directions to follow a path through the wood at one Browns about 5 miles from ferry, which carried me about 8 miles further to a great Rode which I Crosed at one Gibsons, where I got Dinner &c. Cost 2/4. here I got Directions through the woods along a path to the

Rode that Leeds from Cross Crick to Salesburry at one McCoys. followed this Rode about 5 miles farther to the widow McFarlen, where I put up. Cost 1/8. having traveled about 30 miles through poor hilley, Sandy & piney Land; this day. Set out the 8th day, and Traveled through poor hilley Sandy and piney Land, for 40 miles, without Corn before I Came to any house, almost starved self & horse, when I came to one huffs, put up here got Refreshment &c Cost 2/–I set out the 9th day, and find the Land soon begins to grow hilley and stoney Covered with pine & oak timber, with but fue Settlements, and them poor. I followed this Rode about 25 miles where the Rode forks I keep the Left hand Rode, for Salesbury, the Right hand leeds to the Moravian town, after Traveling about 6 miles farther I Came to one Coles where I got Refreshments &c. Cost 1/4. From thence I Traveled about 12 miles farther when I came to one——a Linen wheel makers here I Crosed a Crick called here warrick between Coles & the Linnen wheel makers–where I put up for this day having Traveled about 43 miles, my Exps. here was 2/–this day I find the Land very hilley and stoney with pine & oak Timber and but fue Settlements and them poor. Set out the 10th day, and for about 16 miles the Land is very hilley and stoney, when I came to abbots Crick, here I find the Land grows better and Clearer of Stone and not so hilley with some good settlements, and so grows better towards the Yadkin River. Distant about 8 miles from abbots Crick where I found good settlements and good land, along the River Yadkin which is a Large River about——yards over. Distant about 7 miles this side Salesbury where I arrived this Evening and find good Land and very thick Settled. Salesbury is a small town, but in a thriving way having a Large

Settlement about it. It is Conveniently situated on a Rising piece of ground, here I put up at one Beards having Traveled about 31 miles for this day. In all about 264 miles.

4. OFFICIAL DISESTEEM OF THE BACKWOODS POPULATION IN GEORGIA, 1772

Extract from a letter of James Habersham, lieutenant-governor of Georgia, Savannah, Aug. 20, 1772, to James Wright, then in London. MS. copy in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah. Printed in the Georgia Historical Society *Collections*, vol. vi, 203-204.

. . . I enclose you a Copy of a Proclamation I have issued, and that you may know my reason for so doing, I will transcribe what I have written on that subject to Lord Hillsborough as follows–I have lately received advice from Mr Barnard at Augusta, that several idle People from the Northward, some of whom, he is told are great Villains, Horse thieves &c, and were among the North Carolina regulators have setled and built Huts on the Lands proposed to be ceded by the Indians to His Majesty, and that more might be expected to join them, and if not drove off, and they should be suffered to encrease, it might hereafter be attended with Difficulty to do it, I have therefore by the Advice of the Council issued a Proclamation commanding these Straglers immediately to remove from those Lands, and requiring the Magistrates to cause the Laws to be put in Execution, and enforce due obedience to my Proclamation, of which I have had a Number of Copys to be dispersed amongst the back Setlers, that no Transgressor may plead Ignorance, one of which, with a Copy of my Letter to the Magistrates of St Paul's Parish, I take the Liberty of enclosing with this to your Lordship–I find it is generally known in several of the northern Provinces, that the Head Men of the

Cherokees were personally present and caused the making the Lines of such Part of those Lands, which they claimed as their Property, and proposed to give up, and upon a Supposition that they might be granted, several Persons of apparent Repute have been to view them, some of whom, I have seen, and satisfyed them, that no Grant could be made of any Part of them, untill His Majesty should be pleased to adopt the Proposition made by the Indians, and accordingly they returned to their respective Places of Abode to wait the Event; but the present Intruders, I am informed, are Persons, who have no setled habitation, and live by hunting and plundering the industrious Setlers, and are by no means the sort of People that should settle those Lands, and I hope the Step I have taken will be effectual to remove them as idle and disorderly Vagrants– You will easily distinguish, that the People I refer to are really what you and I understand by Crackers, and as the Cession of these Lands from the Cherokees is well known to the Northward, I think that Business should not be delayed, as those People may encrease, and I suppose they do not distinguish the Difference between bare Cession from the Indians, which they probably look upon as only necessary, and a Cession of them to His Majesty for particular Purposes– Enclosed you have a Copy of my Letter to Mr. Barnard and the Magistrates of St Pauls Parish, and I think I can do no more at present to prevent Encroachments from these lawless People.

5. AGENCIES FOR LAND LOCATION

(a) Advertisement from the Georgia *Journal and Independent Federal Register* (Savannah), Dec. 21, 1793.

The knowledge of the subscribers of the Southern Country, arising from their having made an accurate and actual survey of the sea-coast and inland navigation

of this State–induce them to proffer their service to gentlemen possessing land in these counties, as surveyors, capable and disposed to discharge their duty in that line.– And if required, plats of the same elegantly decorated. PARKER, HOPKINS, and MERCER.

(b) Advertisement from the Tennessee *Weekly Chronicle* (Clarksville), June 7, 1819.

NOTICE. The subscriber, having obtained from North Carolina, copies of the lands south of the Tennessee river, and those formerly known by the name of the Congressional reservation, proposes to enter land for those who may please to confide in him, at one seventh part; the owners paying the necessary fees for obtaining their grants. I farther offer to establish lands, on the south side of Tennessee river, at 150 dollars for establishing 5000 acres, and in proportion down. A line dropped to me, naming the No. of grant, and warrant, will be all the trouble owners of claims will be at. If I do not establish, I shall charge nothing and further make out interferrences, if any, and attend to the obtaining a certificate for those who think proper to employ me. HENRY UGH. Dover, Tenn.

6. THE FRONTIER-PLANTATION REGIME IN LOUISIANA AT THE TIME OF THE MISSISSIPPI BUBBLE, 1718-1720

Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana* (London, 1763), English translaton, vol. 1, 22-55, *passim* and 131-133.

We were then put on shore with all our effects. The Company had undertaken to transport us, with our servants and effects, at their expence, and to lodge, maintain, and convey us to our several Concessions, or Grants. . .

The time of my departure, so much wished for, came

at length. I set out with my hired servants, all my effects, and a letter for M. Paillou, Major General at New Orleans, who commanded there in the absence of M. Biainville. We coasted along the Continent, and came to lie in the mouth of the river of the Pasca-Ogoulas; so called, because near its mouth, and to the east of a bay of the same name, dwells a nation, called Pasca-Ogoulas, which denotes the Nation of Bread. . .

To the South of the Lake [Pontchartrain] is a great creek (Bayouc, a stream of dead water, with little or no observable current) called Bayouc St. Jean; it comes close to New Orleans, and falls into this Lake at Grass Point (Pointe aux Herbes) which projects a great way into the Lake, at two leagues distance from Cockle Island. We passed near that Point, which is nothing but a quagmire. From thence we proceeded to the Bayouc Choupic, so denominated from a fish of that name, and three leagues from the Pointe aux Herbes. The many rivulets, which discharge themselves into this Lake, make its waters almost fresh, though it communicates with the sea: and on this account it abounds not only with sea fish but with fresh water fish, some of which, particularly carp, would appear to be of a monstrous size in France.

We entered this Creek Choupic: at the entrance of which is a fort at present. We went up this Creek for the space of a league, and landed at a place where formerly stood the village of the natives, who are called Cola-Pissas, an appellation corrupted by the French, the true name of that nation being Aquelou-Pissas, that is, the Nation of men that hear and see. From this place to New Orleans, and the river Missisippi, on which that Capital is built, the distance is only a league. . .

Being arrived at the Creek Choupic, the Sieur Lavigne, a Canadian, lodged me in a cabin of the Aquelou-Pissas, whose village he had bought. He gave others to my workmen for their lodging; and we were all happy to find, upon our arrival, that we were under shelter, in a place that was uninhabited. A few days after my arrival I bought an Indian female slave of one of the inhabitants, in order to have a person, who could dress our victuals, as I perceived the inhabitants did all they could to entice away our labourers, and to gain them by fair promises. As for my slave and me, we did not understand one another's language; but I made myself to be understood by signs, which these natives comprehend very easily: She was of the nation of the Chitimachas, with whom the French had been at war for some years.

I went to view a spot on St. John's Creek, about half a league distant from the place, where the Capital was to be founded, which was yet only marked out by a hut, covered with palmetto-leaves, and which the Commandant had caused to be built for his own lodging; and after him for M. Paillou, whom he left Commandant of that post. I had chosen that place preferably to any others, with a view to dispose more easily of my goods and provisions, and that I might not have them to transport to a great distance. I told M. Paillou of my choice, who came and put me in possession, in the name of the West-India Company.

I built a hut upon my settlement, about forty yards from the Creek of St. John till I could build my house, and lodging for my people. . .

I was pleased with my habitation, and I had good reasons, which I have already related, to make me prefer it to others; notwithstanding I had room to believe,

that the situation was none of the healthiest, the country about it being very damp. But this cause of an unwholsome air does not exist at present, since they have cleared the ground, and made a bank before the town. The quality of that land is very good, for what I had sown came up very well. Having found in the spring some peach-stones which began to sprout, I planted them; and the following Autumn they had made shoots four feet high, with branches in proportion.

Notwithstanding these advantages, I took a resolution to quit this settlement, in order to make another one, about a hundred leagues higher up; and I shall give the reasons, which, in my opinion, will appear sufficient to have made me take that step.

Two days afterwards I told M. Hubert what I had heard of the Country of the Natchez. He made answer, that he was so persuaded of the goodness of that part of the country, that he was making ready to go there himself, to take up his Grant, and to establish a large settlement for the Company: And, continued he, "I shall be very glad, if you will do the same: We shall be company to one another, and you will unquestionably do your business better there than here."

This determined me to follow his advice: I quitted my settlement, and took lodgings in the town, till I should find an opportunity to depart, and receive some Negroes whom I expected in a short time. My stay at New Orleans appeared long, before I heard of the arrival of the Negroes. Some days after the news of their arrival, M. Hubert brought me two good ones, which had fallen to me by lot. One was a young Negro about twenty, with his wife of the same age; which cost me both together 1320 livres, or £55 sterling.

Two days after that I set off with them alone in a

pettyaugre (a large canoe,) because I was told we should make much better speed in such a vessel, than in the boats that went with us; and that I had only to take powder and ball with me, to provide my whole company with game sufficient to maintain us; for which purpose it was necessary to make use of a paddle, instead of oars, which make too much noise for the game. I had a barrel of powder, with fifteen pounds of shot, which I thought would be sufficient for the voyage: But I found by experience, that this was not sufficient for the vast plenty of game that is to be met with upon that river, without ever going out of your way. . .

I found upon the main road that leads from the chief village of the Natchez to the Fort, about an hundred paces from this last, a cabin of the Natives upon the road side, surrounded with a spot of cleared ground, the whole of which I bought by means of an interpreter. I made this purchase with the more pleasure, as I had upon the spot, wherewithal to lodge me and my people, with all my effects: The cleared ground was about six acres, which would form a garden and a plantation for tobacco, which was then the only commodity cultivated by the inhabitants. I had water convenient for my house, and all my land was very good. On one side stood a rising ground with a gentle declivity, covered with a thick field of canes, which always grow upon the rich lands; behind that was a great meadow, and on the other side was a forest of white walnuts (Hiccories) of nigh fifty acres, covered with grass knee deep. All this piece of ground was in general good, and contained about four hundred acres of a measure greater than that of Paris: The soil is black and light.

The other two pieces of land, which M. Hubert had ordered me to look for, I took up on the border of the

little river of the Natchez, each of them half a league from the great village of that nation, and a league from the fort; and my plantation stood between these two and the fort, bounding the two others. After this I took up my lodging upon my own plantation, in the hut I had bought of the Indian, and put my people in another, which they built for themselves at the side of mine, so that I was lodged pretty much like our wood-cutters in France, when they are at work in the woods.

As soon as I was put in possession of my habitation, I went with an interpreter to see the other fields, which the Indians had cleared upon my land, and bought them all, except one, which an Indian would never sell to me: It was situated very convenient for me, I had a mind for it, and would have given him a good price; but I could never make him agree to my proposals. He gave me to understand, that, without selling it, he would give it up to me, as soon as I should clear my ground to his; and that while he stayed on his own ground near me, I should always find him ready to serve me, and that he would go a-hunting and fishing for me. This answer satisfied me, because I must have had twenty Negroes, before I could have been able to have reached him; they assured me likewise, that he was an honest man; and far from having any occasion to complain of him as a neighbour, his stay there was extremely serviceable to me. . .

This was without doubt, a great satisfaction to a young man, who found himself otherwise in good health, but had been confined to the house for four months and a half, without being able to go out a moment; and gave me as much joy as I could well have, after the loss of a good Negroe, who died of a defluxion on the breast, which he catched by running away into

the woods, where his youth and want of experience made him believe he might live without the toils of slavery; but being found by the Tonicas, constant friends of the French, who live about twenty leagues from the Natchez, they carried him to their village, where he and his wife were given to a Frenchman, for whom they worked, and by that means got their livelihood; till M. de Montplaisir sent them home to me.

This M. de Montplaisir, one of the most agreeable Gentlemen in the Colony, was sent by the Company, from Clerac in Gascony, to manage their plantation at the Natchez, to make tobacco upon it, and to shew the people the way of cultivating and curing it; the Company having learned, that this place produced excellent tobacco, and that the people of Clerac were perfectly well acquainted with the culture and way of managing it. . .

The second year after my settling among the Natchez, I went to New Orleans, as I was desirous to sell my goods and commodities myself, instead of selling them to the travelling pedlars, who often require too great a profit for their pains. Another reason that made me undertake this voyage, was to send my letters to France myself, which I was certainly informed, were generally intercepted. . .

Upon my arrival at New Orleans I was informed, that there were several Grantees arrived at New Biloxi. I thought fit then to go thither, both to sell my goods, and to get a sure conveyance for my letters to France. Here I was invited to sup with M. d'Artaguette, King's Lieutenant, who usually invited all the Grantees, as well as myself. I there found several of the Grantees, who were all my friends; and among us we made out a sure conveyance for our letters to France, of which we afterwards made use. . .

The Grants were those of M. Law, who was to have fifteen hundred men, consisting of Germans, Provencals, &c. to form the settlement. His land being marked out at the Arkansas, consisted of four leagues square, and as erected into a Duchy, with accoutrements for a company of dragoons, and merchandize for more than a million of livres. M. Levans, who was trustee of it, had his chaise to visit the different posts of the Grant. But M. Law soon after becoming bankrupt, the Company seized on all the effects and merchandize; and but few of those who engaged in the service of that Grant, remained at the Arkansas; they were afterwards all dispersed and set at liberty.

The Germans almost to a man settled eight leagues above, and to the West of the Capital. This Grant ruined near a thousand persons at L'Orient before their embarkation, and above two hundred at Biloxi; not to mention those, who came out at the same time with me in 1718. All this distress, of which I was a witness at Biloxi, determined me to make an excursion a few leagues on the coast, in order to pass some days with a friend, who received me with pleasure. We mounted horse to visit the interior part of the country a few leagues from the sea. I found the fields pleasant enough, but less fertile than along the Missisipi; as they have some resemblance of the neighbouring coast, which has scarce any other plants but pines, that run a great way, and some red and white cedars.

When we came to the plain, I carefully searched every spot that I thought worth my attention. In consequence of the search I found two mines of copper, whose metal plainly appeared above ground. They stood about half a league asunder. We may justly conclude that they are very rich, as they thus disclose themselves on the surface of the earth.

When I had made a sufficient excursion, and judged I could find nothing further to satisfy my curiosity, I returned to Biloxi, where I found two boats of the Company, just preparing to depart for New Orleans, and a large pettyaugre, which belonged to F. Charlevoix the Jesuit, whose name is well known in the Republic of Letters: With him I returned to New Orleans.

. . . . . .

At the time the succours were expected from France, in order to destroy the Natchez, the Negroes formed a design to rid themselves of all the French at once, and to settle in their room, by making themselves masters of the Capital, and of all the property of the French. It was discovered in the following manner.

A female Negro receiving a violent blow from a French soldier, for refusing to obey him, said in her passion, that the French should not long insult Negroes. Some Frenchman, overhearing these threats, brought her before the Governor, who sent her to prison. The Judge Criminal not being able to draw anything out of her, I told the Governor, who seemed to pay no great regard to her threats, that I was of opinion, that a man in liquor, and a woman in passion, generally speak truth. It is therefore highly probable, said I, that there is some truth in what she said: And if so, there must be some conspiracy, ready to break out, which cannot be formed without many Negroes of the King's plantation being accomplices therein: And if there are any, I take upon me, said I, to find them out, and arrest them, if necessary, without any disorder or tumult.

The Governor and the whole Court approved of my reasons: I went that very evening to the camp of the

Negroes, and from hut to hut, till I saw a light. In this hut I heard them talking together of their scheme. One of them was my first commander and my confidant, which surprized me greatly; his name was Samba.

I speedily retired for fear of being discovered; and in two days after, eight Negroes, who were at the head of the conspiracy, were separately arrested, unknown to each other, and clapt in irons without the least tumult.

The day after they were put to the torture of burning matches; which, tho' several times repeated, could not bring them to make any confession. In the mean time I learnt, that Samba had, in his own country, been at the head of the revolt, by which the French lost Fort Arguin; and when it was recovered again by M. Perier de Salvert, one of the principal articles of the peace was, that this Negro should be condemned to slavery in America: That Samba, on his passage, had laid a scheme to murder the crew, in order to become master of the ship; but that being discovered, he was put in irons, in which he continued, till he landed in Louisiana.

I drew up a memorial of all this; which was read before Samba by the Judge Criminal; who, threatening him again with the torture, told him, he had ever been a seditious fellow: Upon which Samba directly owned all the circumstances of the conspiracy; and the rest, being confronted with him, confessed also: After which, the eight Negroes were condemned to be broke alive on the wheel, and the woman to be hanged before their eyes; which was accordingly done, and prevented the conspiracy from taking effect.

7. DISTURBANCE IN TEXAS, 1826, OVER THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE STATUS OF NEGROES IN SLAVERY

News item in the Louisiana *Journal* (St. Francisville), Nov. 11, 1826, reprinted from the Arkansas *Gazette*.

We learn by a gentleman of this place, who arrived a few days since from Miller county, that a citizen of that county had returned just before he started, from the province of Texas, bringing information that great excitement prevailed throughout the several colonies in that country, when he left there, in consequence of the recent passage of the law by the Mexican Government, for the Emancipation of all the Slaves in the province of Texas, and that orders had been received for carrying it into immediate effect. As may well be supposed, this information produced the greatest consternation among the slave holders, all of whom had emigrated to that country under an assurance, as we are informed, from the local authorities of Texas, that they could hold their slaves; though we are under the impression that slavery is prohibited throughout the republic, by the constitution of Mexico.

The large slave holders are hurrying off their slaves in great numbers, into Louisiana and Arkansas; and we have heard of several persons who emigrated from this territory, who have recently crossed the line into Louisiana, with their slaves. Those persons who have but few slaves, have held meetings, at which it was resolved that they would stand by each other in resisting the execution of the law, until they can gather this year's crop, after which they have determined to leave the country.

We also learn that the Indians have been troublesome for some time past to the colonists, and that in many

settlements they were under the necessity of erecting forts for their protection, and retreating into them for security. Several persons have been killed by the Indians within a few months, but at the latest advices the alarm was subsiding. The crops are said to be short this season, and the country very sickly.

8. TEXAN IMMIGRATION, 1828

News item from the Georgia *Courier* (Augusta), July 3, 1828.

The following information, relative to Texas, is copied from the New Orleans *Halcyon and Literary Repository* of the 25th of May. It contains information which will, no doubt, be new to many of the readers:

"Although little more than seven years have elapsed since the Austins began their colony near the Rio Grande, it now numbers from 12 to 15,000 souls, mostly emigrants from the United States.– Thousands of acres, however, remain with the patentee, and will afford immense wealth to himself and to his descendants.

"On the opposite [side] of Texas, and in a quarter possessing greater advantages, another colony is fast rising into importance under the patent of Col. Milam. There are 300 families already settled on the alluvion of the Red River, nearly over against Miller county, in Arkansas. The cotton lands yield astonishing crops of the finest cotton, tobacco, and corn, innumerable herds graze on the elevated prairies, and the mountains are known to contain the precious metals. The law of Mexico, prohibiting slavery, is evaded by having negroes bound to serve an apprenticeship of 99 years. There are several planters who number 50 or 60 of such apprentices. New Orleans will receive the productions of this colony, by barges and steamboats descending Red River, and send back in exchange whatever the

new settlers may be unable to divide among themselves. These settlements, so high up to Red River, may be viewed as the links which shall, in time, connect us, in trade, with St. Fe, and other parts of New Mexico."

9. SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS IN TEXAS, 1834

Letter from Texas printed in the *Southern Banner* (Athens, Ga.), July 19, 1834.

We have been favored with the following interesting letter from Texas, through the politeness of the gentleman to whom it was addressed. It was evidently not intended for publication, but the more important information given by it ought not to be withheld. The character of the writer (Doct. Hoxey) is well known to many of the citizens of Georgia and Alabama and justifies the utmost reliance upon the correctness of his statements.

Cole's Settlement, Texas, April 2, 34.

MR. LEWIS S. BROWN:

Dear Sir: The difficulty in getting letters from this country to the United States has been the chief reason for my not writing to you sooner, and I have no doubt but what you in conjunction with my relatives are anxious to hear from me; and it affords me great pleasure to be able to inform you that all my enthusiastic notions of Texas are not only realized but far exceeded. My most sanguine expectations. I have embarked, as you already know, largely into Texas land speculations; and could now if I would receive $30,000 profit on my investments, but I must have another unit added to that amount before I can be willing to sell. And then I really would not receive the tenth part of their value. I have seen the best lands in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and I assure you they are far in-

ferior to the lands of Texas. I own an eleven league grant at the Falls of Brasos, which is the head of steamboat navigation. The fertility of the soil may be estimated by the growth of the vegetation on it: the weeds grow twenty feet high; and there is no trouble to clear the land, but to fire the wood in the winter. The soil of this land is at least fifty feet thick. not subject to overflow, well watered with pure running streams and generally well timbered. My lands on the San Gabriel and San Andrea are the most beautiful lands in the world for farming. They are not quite as rich as those lands on the Brasos; yet they are far superior to any in the United States; and in point of health and beauty of situation are unsurpassed by any in the world. Where I am now settled the country is very beautiful and healthy: the soil about four feet thick and capable of producing about two thousand pounds of cotton to the acre. I do not feel permanently settled here; but shall remove in a year or so to my lands on the San Gabriel. At present there is little or no society there, whilst the section that I am now in is thickly settled and the society as good as any in the state of Georgia or any other state. My immediate neighbors are all slave holders and cotton planters, and but for the poverty of the soil I would be willing to remain here permanently.

The emigration to Texas this year has been immense, in fact much greater than the resources of the country would admit: at least two months ago nearly all the corn in Texas was consumed by emigrants, and thousands have to subsist on meat alone. My negroes live exclusively on beef and consume about one hundred pounds daily. This I buy at 2 cents a pound.

Texas is the easiest country in the world for the farmer to live in; stock of no kind is ever fed and never

poor. My mules and horses, although they have worked hard all the winter and spring are very fat. They have not had a grain of corn or fodder since I have been in Texas, but subsist exclusively on grass.

I know that you in the United States have very erroneous ideas about this country, particularly as regards the society and the individuals composing that society. You imagine that the country is filled with Mexicans or Spaniards; and that the American part of the population is composed of renegades from the United States; whereas there is scarcely a Mexican in Texas, the population being exclusively American; and by far the largest proportion of that number are honest, industrious and enterprising Americans. A man committing any breach against the laws of society is punished as readily and as severely here as in any part of the United States. Our political situation with the Mexican government is a subject which is well calculated to deter Americans from coming to this country to settle—they believe that we are on the eve of a civil war; but of this there is not the remotest probability. As this time we have no taxes or any duties to pay, and hence want no better government.

10. A TEXAN CANARD

Southern Banner (Athens, Ga.), May 7, 1836.

For the especial benefit of those in the neighborhood (and we understand there are not a few) who are laboring under that cruel disease the Texas fever, we publish the following from the Columbus (Miss.) *Argus* of the 25th ult. It may not prove a pancea, but if it does not act as a cooling powder, then we shall pronounce the disease incurable.

"Texas. A person has lately returned to this county

from Texas who left some five or six months ago to evade a trial for his life under the charge of murder. On his return he affirmed that he would rather be hung than to live in Texas: he gave himself up to the officers of justice, was tried at the late term of our Circuit Court, and was honorably acquitted. From this it would appear that Texas is not quite such a garden as many of our citizens imagine."

11. A TEXAN PIONEER TYPE

Lyell, Sir Charles. *A Second Visit to the United States* (New York, 1846), 88-90, giving the author's observations in 1846, on a steamer bound from Mobile to New Orleans.

. . . On board were many "movers," going to Texas with their slaves. One of them confessed to me, that he had been eaten out of Alabama by his negroes. He had no idea where he was going, but after settling his family at Houston, he said he should look out for a square league of good land to be had cheap. Another passenger had, a few weeks before, returned from Texas, much disappointed, and was holding forth in disparagement of the country for its want of wood and water, declaring that none could thrive there, unless they came from the prairies of Illinois, and were inured to such privations. "Cotton," he said, "could only be raised on a few narrow strips of alluvial land near the rivers, and as these were not navigable by steamers, the crop, when raised, could not be carried to a market." He also comforted the mover with the assurance, "that there were swarms of buffalo flies to torment his horses, and sand flies to sting him and his family." To this the undismayed emigrant replied, "that when he first settled in Alabama, before the long grass and canes had been eaten down by his cattle, the insect pests were as great as they could be in Texas." He was, I found,

one of those resolute pioneers of the wilderness, who, after building a log-house, clearing the forest, and improving some hundred acres of wild ground by years of labor, sells the farm, and migrates again to another part of the uncleared forest, repeating this operation three or four times in the course of his life, and, though constantly growing richer, never disposed to take his ease. In pursuing this singular vocation, they who go southward from Virginia to North and South Carolina, and thence to Georgia and Alabama, follow, as if by instinct, the corresponding zones of country. The inhabitants of the red soil of the granitic region keep to their oak and hickory, the "crackers" of the tertiary pine-barrens to their light-wood, and they of the newest geological formations in the sea-islands to their fish and oysters. On reaching Texas, they are all of them at fault, which will surprise no geologist who has read Ferdinand Roemer's account of the form which the cretaceous strata assume in that country, consisting of a hard, compact, siliceous limestone, which defies the decomposing action of the atmosphere, and forms table-lands of bare rock, so entirely unlike the marls, clay, and sands of the same age in Alabama.

On going down from the cabin to the lower deck, I found a slave-dealer with sixteeen negroes to sell, most of them Virginians. I heard him decline an offer of 500 dollars for one of them, a price which he said he could have got for the man before he left his own state.

12. SHIFTING OF POPULATION IN TEXAS

News item from the *Democratic Telegraph and Texas Register* (Houston), Jan. 27, 1848.

We have learned with pleasure that the tide of emigration is again setting with a rapidly increasing

current into the eastern and northern section of the State. Several of the roads along the eastern frontier have been crowded with emigrants, who are wending their way towards the fertile lands of the Trinity and Brazos, and around the sources of the Navasoto. It is estimated that more than four hundred families settled last year in the counties of Dallas, Denton, Navarro, Collin Hunt, and Grayson, and if we may judge from present appearances, the number of emigrants that will settle in those counties this year will far exceed that of last year. Many of these emigrants are from Alabama, Georgia and the adjoining States. It is worthy of remark that, while these emigrants were flocking in such great numbers to the eastern counties, a large number of settlers from those counties are "pulling up stakes and moving to the west." Whether Western Texas excels the eastern section of the State in the salubrity of its climate and the fertility of soil, or whether these settlers, like "Leather Stocking" are tired because the settlements are increasing too rapidly around them we leave our readers to ascertain. One fact, however, we believe is well established, that very few settlers are seen returning from the West. . .

13. TEXAN ATTRACTIONS ADVERTISED

Editorial from the *Texian Advocate* (Victoria), June 22, 1848.

TO EMIGRANTS. Never was there a more favorable time for emigrants to come to Western Texas than the ensuing fall. Peace, health, and fine crops are the order of the day. We have no doubt there is corn enough made for double our population, and the ranging price will be from 25 to 50 cents per bushel. Land is very cheap, as well as every other species of property. We predict that will not be the case in twelve or eighteen

months from the present writing.– Times must improve, and we think shortly. We would invite those wishing homes in a new country to come and look at Texas, as they will find it all sorts of a country–that is, they may find all sorts of country in it.

14. THE LAUNCHING OF TOWNS

(a) Advertisement by William Byrd in the Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), July 23, 1767, offering lots, forges, mill sites, etc., in the present city of Richmond, to be distributed by lottery among the purchasers of tickets.

A scheme, For disposing of, by way of Lottery, the Land and Tenements under mentioned, being the entire towns of Rocky Ridge and Shockoe, lying at the Falls of James river, and the land thereunto adjoining. The advantageous situation of this estate is too well known to require a particular description, though it may be necessary to inform the publick that the obstructions through the Falls, and in other parts of the river above, will shortly be removed, and the river made navigable to the said towns: The navigation will thereby be extended, and made both safe and easy for upwards of two hundred miles above the said Falls, and a communication opened to the western frontier of the middle colonies, whereby there will not be more than sixty or seventy miles portage from James river to the Ohio; so that the immense treasure of that valuable country must necessarily be brought to market to one or other of the above said towns, which will occasionally raise their rents, and enhance the value, of the lands and tenements under mentioned, beyond the powers of conception.

	LOTS	VALUE	RENTS
A double forge, a mill, with 2½ acres of land adjoining, the use of the landing, the canal, with ten feet on each side, and 2000 acres of back land, the farthest part of which is not more than five miles from the forge,		£8000	
Imperfection at Rocky Ridge, at 12 years purchase,		780	£65 0
James Lyle, his tenement, at do.		540	45
Archibald Buchanon, at do.		540	45
Alexander Stewart, at do.		510	42 10
Elizabeth Todd, at do.		480	40
Robert Gordan, at do.		90	7 10
Joseph Hopkins, at do.		60	5
John Shackelton, at do.		36	3
James Gunn, formely rented to Thomas Yuille,		540	45
Ferry on the fourth side, at 20 years purchase, with half an acre of land on the bank,		2000	100
A fishery on the south side at 20 years do.		600	30
Number of improved lots,	12	£14,176	£428
Lots unimproved, each half an acre, to be laid off in a town convenient to the river, with publick landings, at £25 each,	300	7500	
The amount of lots on the south side of James river, in Chesterfield County,	312	£21,676	£428

Shockoein perfection, at 12 years purchase,	£780	£65
Byrd's do. at do.	780	65
Watson's, at do.	720	60
James Buchanon, at do.	720	60
Patrick Coutts, at do.	420	35
George Ellis, at do.	120	10
James M'Dowell, at do.	480	40
David Ross, at do.	480	40
Carried over	£4500	£375

	LOTS	VALUE	RENTS
Brought over		£4500	£375
Thomas Younghusband, at do.		540	45
James Razer, at do.		60	5
James Howling, at do.		60	5
John M'Keind, at do.		144	12
M'Pherson & Menzies, at do.		420	35
James Daley, at do.		36	3
Lewis Warwick, at do.		60	5
Ferry, at 20 years do.		2000	100
Fishery, at 20 years do.		2000	100
Number of improved lots,	17	£9,820	£685
10,000 acres of land, to be laid off in lots of 100 acres each, valued at 30s. per acre,	100	15,000	
10 islands, on some of which are very valuable fisheries,	10	300	
Lots unimproved, valued at £25 each,	400	10,000	
The amount of lots on the North side of James river,	527	£35,120	£685
The amount of lots on the south of James river,	312	21,676	428
839 Prizes.	839	£56,796	£1113
9161 Blanks.			
10,000 Tickets, at £5 each,		£50,000	

The said lottery will be drawn at Shockoe's in June 1768, under the management and direction of the Honble. Presley Thornton, Esq. Peyton Randolph, John Page, Charles Carter, and Charles Turnbull, Esqrs. trustees for the same, who will execute conveyances for the prizes drawn by the fortunate adventurers in this lottery. Tickets to be had of the trustees, also of Col. Archibald Cary, John Wayles, and the subscriber.

W. BYRD.

(b) The founding of Louisville, Ky. Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette*, April 7, 1774.

The Subscribers, Patentees of Land at the Falls of the Ohio, hereby inform the Publick that they intend

to lay out a Town there in the most convenient Place. The Lots to be 80 Feet front and 240 deep. The Number of Lots that shall be laid off at first will depend on the Number of Applications. The Purchase Money of each Lot to be four Spanish Dollars, and one Dollar per Annum Quitrent for ever. The Purchasers to build within the Space of two Years from the first of December next, on each lot, a Log-House not less that sixteen Feet square, with a Stone or Brick Chimney; and as in that Country it will be necessary the first Settlers should build compactly, the Improvements must naturally join each other. It is farther proposed, for the Convenience of the Settlers, that an out Lot of ten Acres, contigous to the Town, shall be laid off, for such as desire the same, at an easy Rent, on a long Lease. Attendance will be given by the Patentees at Pittsburg, till the Middle of June, at which Time one of them will set off from thence to execute the Plan. The advantageous Situation of that Place, formed by Nature as a temporary Magazine, or Repository, to receive the produce of the very extensive and fertile Country on the Ohio and its Branches, as well as the necessary Merchandises suitable for the Inhabitants that shall emigrate into that Country (as Boats of fifty Tuns Burthen may be navigated from New Orleans up to the Town) is sufficient to recommend it; but when it is considered how liberal, nay profuse, Nature has been to it otherwise, in stocking it so abundantly that the slightest Industry may supply the most numerous Family with the greatest Plenty and amazing Variety of Fish, Fowl, and Flesh; the Fertility of the Soil, and Facility of Cultivation, that fit it for producing Commodities of great Value with little Labour; the Wholesomeness of the Waters, and Serenity of the Air, which render

it healthy; and when Property may be so easily acquired, we may, with Certainty, affirm that it will in a short Time be equalled by few inland Places on the American Continent.

JOHN CAMPELL–JOHN CONNOLLY.

(c) Letter of John Sappington, Red River, Tenn., Sept. 20, 1791, to Major William Croghan. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, XX, vol. v, no. 24. Speculation in town sites on the Ohio River.

D^r S^r I with pleasure embrace this opportunity by Col^n James Ford to inform you that I am well at present and have enjoyed a good state of health since I left the Falls of Ohio–

I also have the Pleasure to introduce to you Col^n James Ford, a person anxious to make a purchase near the mouth of Cumberland River. there are a Number of Families that would wish to [buy] any land adjacent to the Town Moses Shelby requests me to inform you he would give Cash for five or six hundred Acres of Land near the Town five or six miles distant he would wish to know by this opportunity what you would take per hundred for Land in that Distance from the Town– Also several others wish to know what you would take for Land near the Mouth of Little River or Ramsey's Camp, particularly a Mr. Desha, he would wish to purchase two or three thousand acres he can make you good pay in Beef Cattle as he has a large Stock of Cattle he is a very punctual man–I have not the least Doubt provided you would engage Land at a certain fixed price your Town would be established at the Mouth of Cumberland immediately I have drew up an article for the settling of s^d Town & find that if you would give an out Lott of about five acres with the two Lotts in Town the Settlement would be established this Fall indeed provided you would fix a reasonable price

on the Twenty acre out Lotts at the expiration of the ten years I have the promise of a Number of Adventurers sufficient to establish a permanent Settlement. I shall expect to hear from you fully and particularly on the above head—as I intend to become an Adventurer myself I conceive it must be a place of Trade at present and a future day a place of Consequence as it is the key of the Settlements on Cumberland & the Ohio above & as it lies near the mouths of several Capital Rivers also near the present Spanish Settlements. I conclude with presenting my compliments to Mrs Croghan, Mr. Clarks family, Coll[n] Anderson & his Lady Doct[r] James Ofallon & his Lady & my Acquaintances in generall in the neighborhood of the Falls & with subscribing myself Y[r] M[st] Ob[t] Serv[t] &c JNO. SAPPINGTON.

(d) Advertisement from the Tennessee *Herald* (Shelbyville), Feb. 21, 1818. Presumptive attractions for a town site.

THE TOWN OF COTTON-PORT. On the 16th. day of March 1818 (being the next Monday after the close of the Public Land Sales at Huntsville) will be offered for sale to the highest bidder on the premises; A part of the lots laid out for the new town of Cotton Port.

The Town is laid out on the West Bank of Limestone river; one mile above its junction with the Tennessee and a little below the south Beaver Dam and the Piney Fork.

The situation is high and dry, promises to be as healthy as any other place in the Alabama Territory, as near the Tennessee, is sufficiently level, and elevated above the reach of the highest floods of the Tennessee.

Within the limits of the Town are two never failing springs of good water. The appearance of the Land and the success of similar experiments in the country adjacent, justify a belief that on almost every lot a well

of good water may be had at a moderate depth without blowing rock.

Limestone River from the Tennessee to this place is navigable at all seasons of the year by the largest Keel and flat Bottom'd boats used in the Navigation of the Tennessee. Limestone here affords a safe harbor of deep still water, in which the greatest floods, boats will be entirely free from the dangers to be at such times apprehended from the strong and rapid current and sudden risings and fallings of the Tennessee. The situation at which Cotton Port is laid out, has in fact long since been proved by the observation and experienced of the planters of the western and the north-western parts of Madison county, to be the place which Nature has distinctly marked out for the commercial centre of the very fertile country adjacent. It includes the well known old boat landing Limestone. At this place for several years past, not an inconsiderable part of the cotton from these parts of Madison county, has been imbarked in flat bottom'd boats, which ascended with ease from the Tennessee and with full cargoes descended from this place to New Orleans. The saving in the expence of Land carriage, altho' the country for more than 15 miles around the boat landing was then unsettled and the Indian claim to it unextinguished caused the produce of this quarter of Madison county to be embarked at this place in preference to any other. The same reason must naturally render Cotton Port the place of embarkation for all the produce of the country north of it, as far as the southern boundary of the state of Tennessee, & for a considerable distance to the West and to the East.

The country whose trade seems decreed by Nature to centre here, includes one of the finest cotton districts

North of the Tennessee river. Of its fertility and probable wealth and produce something like definite ideas may be formed, when it is known that at the Public Sales now going on at Huntsville, the lands in the Township in which Cotton Port has been laid out, and the next to the North sold at from 2 to 70 dollars per acre and at an average of 16 dollars per acre. In the two next townships to the east and north-east at about the same prices. The 2 nearest townships to the W. and N.W. of C. Port are to be sold during the present week. The greater part of the Land in these is not less fertile and inviting to wealthy and industrious settlers. To people at a distance who may not have enquired into the system pursued in Surveying and selling Public Lands of the United States, it may be proper to observe, that a township is six miles square, in each of which after the reservation for Schools there are 22,400 acres to be sold in quarter sections of 160 each – of rich and high priced Lands just mentioned the most remote is but twelve miles from Cotton Port.

Men of Industry, Enterprize & Judgement in almost every walk of life, who seek to better their condition, in a new and unoccupied field of action, will not be slow in forming their conclusions if they can rely upon these statements–Let them examine the records of the Land office and see if they are correct, let them examine the account of sales and calculate what must in all probability be the produce of a district in one half of which, capital to so large an amount has been vested by prudent men in the purchase of Lands at the Public sales of government, let them examine a Map of the country and ascertain the point at which the commerce of this district must centre.

To the merchant it must occur that for the exporta-

tion of the produce of such a country there must be buyers at the point where it will be collected—that to supply such a country in foreign articles of consumption there must be sellers at the place to which the consumers come, to sell their produce.

Trade cannot stagnate here. Industrious and ingenious mechanics must see that the inhabitants of such a country will want houses, furniture, farming utensils, leather, saddles, boots, shoes, &c. and will be able to pay good prices for them. The upper country on the Tennessee and Holston rivers and their branches will afford, at a very trifling expence for water carriage down the river, abundant supplies of provisions, iron, lumber and other raw materials.

A good dry road can be had from Cotton-Port, north to Elk river. The proprietors of the land laid out for the town intend to build a bridge across Limestone; and to make a good road for several miles towards the rich country about the Big Prairie.

From Cotton-Port to Falls of the Black Warrior, as good a road can probably be had as from any place on Tennessee river. The distance is about 100 miles.

The Trustees of the town, will reserve for public benefit, two lots including the two springs, two or more lots for a place of public worship, a school house, and such other public buildings as the prospects of the place may seem to require.

In the plan of the town the Trustees have endeavored to avoid every thing which will tend to bring all its population and business into one span, and leave the rest of the lots unoccupied. They have endeavored so to arrange the streets, lots, &c. as to secure to the future inhabitants as far as practicable, the benefits of shade and a free circulation of air, and to every family a piece of garden ground.

A plan of the town and a map of the adjacent country, will be left for public inspection at John H. Smith's store in Nashville, and a plan of the town with Brice M. Garner Fayetteville, T. and with John Brahan in Huntsville as soon as they can be prepared.

The sale will commence precisely at 12 o'clock. The trustees are induced to commence the sale at so short a notice, in order to meet the wishes of many now waiting, and anxious to commence improvements in the town immediately. If the demand for lots requires it, the sale will be continued from day to day.

Terms eight months credit.

Bond and approved security to be given. JOHN COFFEE, JAMES JACKSON, JOHN BRAHAN, JAS. BRIGHT.–Trustees.

(e) News item from the Georgia *Courier* (Augusta), Aug. 11, 1828. The site of this town, Columbus, Ga., at the head of navigation on the Chattahoochee River, like that also of Macon on the Ocomulgee, was selected in advance by the state government, and as soon as ceded by the Indians was laid off as a commercial town, and the lots, whether for dwellings, gardens, or mill seats were sold at auction through the agency of a state commission.

The whole of the Reserve at Coweta Falls, with the exception of 144 half acre lots, the Commons around the town, and a square of ten acres for the Court-house of the county, has been disposed of. The half acre lots reserved are on the South West part of the town, and not considered of much value. The gross amount of sales was $130,994. One of the half acre lots sold for $1,855. A hundred acre lot, three or four miles from town, brought $2,110–another $1,600 and a third upwards of $1,100. These were supposed to command Mill-seats. About 65 lots, on an average, were sold each day. The property brought fair prices, and the conduct of the Commissioners is understood to have been unexceptionable.

The prospects of this new town are truly flattering. One of the Editors of this paper attended the sales, and can speak of its local situation and rare advantages from personal observation. The town is laid off on a high level, dry plain, immediately opposite to the Falls or rather Rapids of the Chatahoochie, on an elevation of forty or fifty feet above the river. . .

The town lots are laid off about an equal distance above and below the head of Steam-boat navigation: none of them extend to the river bank, but a beautiful promenade is left along its whole extent, which is the highest ground on the plan of the town, and affords a commanding view of the picturesque rapids above, and of the placid deep river below. At the head of navigation the river is upwards of 100 yards wide and from three to eight feet deep. A few hundred yards above, at the rapids, the usual width of the river is 260 yards–but when we saw it, at an unusual dry time, the whole current of water rushed, with inconceivable velocity, through a single aperture in the rocks of 50 or 60 feet wide. . . There is no mud and not an acre of low grounds or marsh on either side of the river near the town. The place has every appearance of being healthy, and is decidedly better situated in this respect than Augusta, Milledgeville or Macon. The rapids of the Chatahoochie at Coweta Falls very much resemble those of James river at Richmond, Va.

That Columbus will become a very important town, and very soon too, we cannot for a moment doubt. Such was the opinion of all who attended the sales, and many shrewd men from different parts, attracted by curiosity or the prospect of speculation, had congregated there. The population in February last was about 500–it is said now to be upwards of 1300. A number of frame

buildings, set on blocks, ready to be moved to any lot, were offered for sale, and found ready purchasers. One gentleman contracted for the erection of buildings, to be put up with all possible expedition, to the amount of $5000. Another advertised for 200,000 brick, for the erection of a brick building. The bricks made at Columbus are of a superior quality, and many of the buildings, when timber becomes more scarce, will probably be of brick.

XIX. FRONTIER INDUSTRY

1. SELF-DEPENDENCE REQUIRED

Letter of the Reverend John Urmstone, North Carolina, July 7, 1711, to the secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, from F. L. Hawks's *History of North Carolina* (Fayetteville, 1857-1858), vol. ii, 215, 216.

. . . Workmen are dear and scarce. I have about a dozen acres of clear ground, and the rest woods, in all, three hundred acres. Had I servants and money, I might live very comfortably upon it, raise good corn of all sorts, and cattle without any great labor or charges, could it once be stocked; but for want thereof shall not make any advantage of my land. I have bought a horse some time ago; since that, three cows and calves, five sheep, and some fowls of all sorts, but most of them unpaid for, together with fourteen bushels of wheat, for all which I must give English goods. At this rate I might have had any thing that either this government or any of the neighboring colonies afford; but had I stock, I need not fear wanting either butter, cheese, beef, or mutton, of my own raising, or good grain of all sorts. I am forced to work hard with axe, hoe, and spade. I have not a stick to burn for any use, but what I cut down with my own hands. I am forced to dig a garden, raise beans, peas, etc., with the assistance of a sorry wench my wife brought with her from England.

Men are generally of all trades, and women the like within their spheres, except some who are the posterity of old planters, and have great numbers of slaves, who understand most handicraft. Men are generally car-

penters, joiners, wheelwrights, coopers, butchers, tanners, shoemakers, tallow-chandlers, watermen, and what not; women, soap-makers, starch-makers, dyers, etc. He or she that cannot do all these things, or hath not slaves that can, over and above all the common occupations of both sexes, will have but a bad time of it; for help is not to be had at any rate, every one having business enough of his own. This makes tradesmen turn planters, and these become tradesmen. No society one with another, with all study to live by their own hands, of their own produce; and what they can spare, goes for foreign goods. Nay, many live on a slender diet to buy rum, sugar, and molasses, with other such like necessaries, which are sold at such a rate that the planter here is but a slave to raise a provision for other colonies, and dare not allow himself to partake of his own creatures, except it be the corn of the country in hominy bread.

2. AN EXAMPLE OF VERSATILITY

Advertisement from the Winchester (Va.) *Gazette,* Dec. 2, 1801.

WANTING IMMEDIATE EMPLOY. A Man without a family, either as a Schoolmaster, (which business he has followed many years) as Usher, A Tutor, a Clerk, an Overseer or a Painter: a man who can be recommended for sobriety and diligence, who is acquainted with the most approved pronunciation of the English Language and Orthography; Writing Roman, Italian and German text hands, according to the Plates of Duncan, Smith's standard, London Arithmetic in general, Mensuration, Geometry and Plane Trigonometry, with their application to all the lower branches of the Mathematics. The revolution of the Solar System, Painting on Glass, Wood, Metal or Stone. Japaning and Varnishing, Etching, Engraving, Mezzotinto, Crayons, in Water-colours and on silks, or satins, Vocal Music, and

some little of Instrumental ditto. All which he occasionally would give instructions in, at the direction of the employer or employers. To serve a few families as a teacher would be most agreeable. Letters of proposals, post paid, directed to Mr. Solomon Henckel, Postmaster, of Newmarket, Shenandoah county, to the 25th of December, next, will be attended to. J.M.
November 25, 1801.

3. VARIETY IN CROPS, EARLY CAROLINA PIEDMONT

(a) News item from the South Carolina *Gazette* (Charleston), July 15, 1766.

We are sorry to hear that the wheat planters in the back settlements on the Western frontiers, who are not an inconsiderable number, and most of whom place their whole Dependence on the raising of that grain, are very great sufferers this Year, many of them losing their whole crop by the Rust.

On the other hand, those that have planted Hemp, have in general succeeded so well that it is certain a very great quantity will be brought to Market for Exportation, so that this Commodity promises fair to become another staple.

Madder has lately been planted and it is said, will produce to advantage. In short, there are very few things that may not be brought to Perfection here, with a little Patience and Industry, for it is but a few years since, that scarce a good Cabbage, Turnip, Beet, Carrot or Irish Potatoes could be found in our Markets; but now they are raised in such Quantity and Perfection that none of the two last need be imported again.

(b) News letter from Charleston, S.C., dated Nov. 14, 1768, and printed in the Boston (Mass.) *Chronicle,* Dec. 5-12, 1768.

. . . Since the beginning of this month, several large quantities of excellent tobacco, made in the back

settlements, have been brought to this market; and we are told, it might soon be made a very considerable article among our exports, were two inspectors appointed at each of the following places, viz, Congarees, Camden, Charraw Hill, and Charles Town.

The northwestern, north and northeastern parts of this Province, have lately been so greatly improved, that (altho' so many of the people have been a long time past employed in works of Reformation or Regulation) we are informed, the quantity of Hemp made last year is nearly doubled this; that the inhabitants now manufacture most of their linens (such as cost in England from 12 to 18d. a yard) Linsey-Woolsey, and even coarse cloths: that it has been proposed shortly to establish a stocking manufactory amongst them; that saw-mills are erecting in various parts; and the produce of good wheat has been so great this year that we may soon expect, from Camden alone, 2000 barrels of flour and 1500 of ship bread.

(c) Letter of Jennett Linn, South Carolina, May 3, 1779, to John Linn, captain in the Revolutionary army. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, VV, vol. ix, no. 72.

May the 3d 1779.

Dear and Loving Husband, I received your letter dated April the twenty seventh last past, I gladly Embrace this opportunity to let you know that I and the children are all in good health at present blessed be God for his Mercies wishing these may find you in good health also the frost that was on Thursday the twenty ninth of last month hath killed the chief part of the Wheat and the Rice, if not all, it killed also part of the Flax, nothing would be more Desirable to me, than to have your Company, at home with me, but I would be

far from Desireing you to Desert, I have got the field for the Corn cleared, and William Paul hath p[l]owed it for me, and I expect to get it planted this Week, no Person hath molested me, to Rob me as yet, but I am many times in great fear when dogs bark at Night I add no more at present but I remain your Loving and affectionate Wife until Death. JENNETT LINN.

Please to tell John Rock and John McDill that each of their Wives are ill.

[Addressed] Mr. John Linn at Camp in Captain John Nixon's Company in Colonel Winn's Regiment.

4. HOUSE- AND FENCE-BUILDING CONTRACTS IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY, 1755

MS. memoranda in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, QQ, vol. i, no. 83.

(a) Contract for house-building.

Memorandum of an agreement made between John Johnson of the one Part and Col. James Patton of the other Part both of Augusta County Witnesseth that the sd. Johnson is to build a Framed House for the sd. Patton on Mark James Place on James river, the house to be thirty two feet long and eighteen feet wide from outside to outside to be eight feet from floor to floor to be covered and weatherboarded with clapboards two Tire of joists to be laid and the whole jobb to be finished in a workmanlike manner against ye first day of July next, for which the sd. Patton is to pay the sd. Johnson seven Pistoles and a half as soon as the work is finished and to find him Diet and Lodging Hawling and help to Raise the Frame and Nails for the whole Jobb To the true performance of the above agreement–Each party do hereby bind themselves to each other in the Penal Sum of fifteen Pistoles to be paid to the Party observing by

the Party failing for witness whereof both parties have hereunto set their hands and seals this 26th Feby 1775.

his
JOHN X JOHNSON.
mark

Witness Present, WM. PRESTON JAMES PATTON.

(b) Contract for fence-building.

Memorandum of an agreement made between Peter Loony of y^e^ one Part and James Patton of y^e^ other Part both of Augusta County, Witnesseth that the s^d^ Loony is to cut and maul Eight Thousand Fence Rails at Eleven Feet and a half long and of a proper thickness and to haul and build the same into a good well Laid fence Seven Rails high and a Rider the Fence to be made Hog Proof, to have good Stakes eight and a half feet long and well sunk in the ground and the Rails for the whole Jobb to be made within the s^d^ Fence which is to be on the Land this Day laid off for that purpose or where the s^d^ Loony shall be directed by the s^d^ James Patton or George Wilson on Mark Jones Place–which Jobb is to be finished and complete according to Agreement against the first day of May next for which the s^d^ James Patton is to pay the Sum of Twelve Pounds Currency as soon as the work is finished and the s^d^ Loony is hereby further obliged to put a chunck of wood under every corner of the s^d^ fence the thickness of a Rail and to be at least one foot long and find himself Diet, Lodging, Hawling &c. for the true performance of the above agreement both parties do bind themselves to each other in the Penal Sum of Twenty Four Pounds to be paid by the Delinquent to the Party observing as witnesses our hands and seals this 27^th^ Day of Feb^y^ 1755.

PETER LOONEY–JAMES PATTON.

5. CATTLE DROVING

Notice from the *La Fourche Gazette* (Donaldson, La.), June 24, 1826.

DISGRACEFUL. A Western drover, in a late Wheeling (Vir.) *Gazette,* with much simplicity states his grievances, and the "mean conduct of a steam-boat Captain."

On the 12th. of April, 1826, as I was driving 45 head of fat cattle up the Ohio river, a little above Mrs. Parriott's in Ohio county, Va. the steam boat Clinton crossed the river a little behind the cattle and kept close along the shore until she got about midway of the cattle, when she let off 3 or 4 blasts of steam, and the cattle started up the river as if the deuce was in them. I kept before them for more than a mile and a half, when having the advantage of a bridge I succeeded in turning them, and when they came opposite the boat she gave them 3 or 4 blasts more, and the men on the boat gave a shout, and being not yet satisfied they gave my horse a few blasts. The name of the captain of the boat I knew not, but I wish to caution the public against a man of such mean and disgraceful conduct. I can easily prove the above facts. WM. JOHNSON.
Tyler County, Va., May 4.

6. BEE HUNTING

News item from the Baton Rouge (La.) *Gazette,* Dec. 2, 1826.

Missouri. The Missouri *Intelligencer* published at Fayette, states that there had been, for some days previous to the 21st. ult. a frequent passing of waggons through that town, accompanied by men armed with guns and dogs. They were generally bound for the head waters of Charlton Grand, and some as far as the Des Moines rivers, a Bee hunting. From four to five

men usually accompany each waggon and team of four, five, or six horses, and provided with provisions for an absence of from three to five weeks. It was also stated, that no less than forty waggons thus equipped, were going from that county alone, in search of one of the articles for which Canaan was so celebrated; and that a corresponding number in proportion to the population, would set forth from the ten or twelve adjacent counties.

7. ORGANIZED BARTER

Advertisement from the Knoxville (Tenn.) *Register,* Dec. 3, 1824.

Campbell's Station, I am receiving at my store in this place and at Kingston a new supply of goods, being in much want of money will sell them as low as they are sold for the same sort of pay in Knoxville; will take in exchange for goods whiskey, when in new barrels and all of oak, country [l]inen, linsey, feathers, sewing-thread, shoe-thread, beef hides, oats, corn, lamb's wool, fur skins, Salt at both places for two dollars for fifty pounds. At Kingston by the barrel at one dollar and seventy five cents for fifty pounds. Wanted as many wagons as I can get to haul salt from King's works to this place, I will give five pounds of salt more than is given for hawling to Knoxville. SAMUEL MARTIN. May 7, 1824.

XX. FRONTIER SOCIETY

1. THE GEORGIA-CAROLINA FRONTIER ON THE EVE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Recruiting Journal of Richard Elliott, 1775. MS. in the possession of the Charleston Library, Charleston, S.C.

Set out from Chas. Town 24th June and proceeded to the Hut on the Savannah the same evening, halted all Sunday there and early on Monday set out for Green Savannah where I joined Lieuts. Shubrick and Dunbar then made a quick march through Jacksonburgh to Andalusia and took up our quarters there till Tuesday morning, at which time we again set out with our servants, musicians and others in our retinue, making altogether thirteen riders and crossing the Salkatchers arrived at Pocotaligo to dinner where being in hopes of getting some men we put up till the next morning treated several with wine grog etc but enlisted none. On Wednesday we called at the Forrest and dined bated our horses and refreshed ourselves without any expense in the afternoon proceeded to Mr. Palmers at Laurel Hill, lodged there and on Thursday went on a recruiting party and enlisted two men, then returned and dined at Laurel Hill where we spent the evening enlisting two females for the service and on the morning following set out for Barochecola, not finding anyone there we proceeded on to Savannah River and arrived at the Two Sisters Bluff crossed it about eleven o'clock the same morning, halted at a Tavern kept by Pace and dined there upon bacon, greens and tough bread and some

cold victuals carried from Laurel Hill, From thence we continued on our tour to Mt. Dills, but some of our party who had stopt at a house to try and enlist men not coming up with us this night we halted here till late next morning at which time the Sergt. arrived with one recruit. Our phaeton hounds being broke on the journey of the night before we halted at a black smiths about a mile further up the road near the saw-mill to get it mended and here read over to Capt. Green of the Militia several political papers which animated him and served to promote the business he was then upon of calling the people together to keep delegates to represent them in a Congress to be held at Savannah the beginning of July. From this smiths we proceeded on to Herberts Tavern in St. Georges Parish about twenty miles higher up the country and being informed of several men in and about that neighborhood willing to enlist we halted here three days during which time we enlisted twenty men all of them young and twelve of this number of the Grenadier Size on the Monday following I gave a Barbacue to the recruits with leave to invite their friends and their lasses of the Vicinage to a Virginia hop, about forty attending the barbacue was served up and as soon as dinner was over the old Virginia dance began and continued till the evening when the lasses returned to their homes and some of the men with them having orders to meet me at Col. Bartons the morning after from which place Lieut. Shubrick crossed Savannah River with the recruits and one Sergt. and marched for the head quarters at Chas. Town on the fifth day of July 1775.

The Phaeton being thoroughly repaired by Mr. Burton, who keeps a yard here for building large boats, schooners, and I engaged two pretty boats from him,

set out with the rest of my party for the upper country, about 11 o'clock, and arrived at Mr. Stephen Smiths in Hallifax County about 4 in the afternoon of the same day, here we halted and received an invitation to spend two or three days, as Mr. Smith informed us there were to be two large musters within that time, one on the Carolina side and the other on the Georgia side, the one on the latter side was a company of militia commanded by Captain Walker, one of the old Protestors against the general proceedings of Savannaenses, when they formerly attempted to choose a committee and elect delegates to send to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia and Col. Thomas of the hallifax district, who was the leading man on this unhappy occasion, having accidentally fallen in company with those (gentlemen) militia officers, a day or two before at a county Court where they proceeded as Magistrates, and retiring to dinner after the business of their Court was over I had an opportunity of laying before these gentlemen some political pieces, which I imagined greatly contributed to their reformation, as they discovered the secrets of our Arbitrary Ministers, and explained all the cruelties and injustice of the proceedings of Parliament against the American Colonies.

The following day we went with Mr. Smith and Lieut. Dunbar being ill with a fever was left with Mrs. Smith whose care and attendance showed her hospitality on this occasion to our sick Lieut, and the Recruiting Party under my direction to the Hallifax muster where we saw about 200 men drawn up in rank and file, their Col. Thomas told them that he had called them to this muster to let them know the Georgians were again endeavoring to enter into an Association, and to chuse delegates to represent them in a General Committee to

be holden at Savannah early in July, that he had formerly been averse to the American measures and opposed them, but that he had now altered his mind and should do all that he could in favor of America, he did not expect matters would ever have come to such a height but since the Battle of Lexington he was convinced America was to be hard rode, and drove like slaves if the Americans were inactive or inattentive &c &c that for his part he could not sign the Association which he then held in his hand because he held two commissions from the King's representative the Governor, that he intended to resign them in three days and should then put his name at the head of the Association, this he declared at the head of the battallion, recommending such as chose to sign it, many thereupon did sign it. An Ensign gave his commission to a Colonel and put his name also to it, others promised to put their names whenever they saw their Colonel's and Captain's names down tho' they did not think otherwise than that he would do as he had publicly declared to them. The Battallion being discharged Col. Thomas assisted in persuading some young men to enlist and before dinner we got eight here, returning to Mr. Smith's that night we set out early on the next morning for the muster field at Williamsons Cow Pen, to meet the militia company there commanded by Captain Wilson, one of the Provincial Delegates, on our way, soon after we had crossed Savannah River, we overtook, Captain Ben. Catyele of the First Regmt. also going to the same place, as we imagined our business would clash (I agreed to enlist none but those that of the Grenadier Size, and he promised to take none but those that were under that height, when we arrived the company was drawn up, and consisted of about 180 men in rank and file.) The

Captain read the Carolina Association to them then called out for them to sign it, and it was in general signed. They were then told by the Captain that the Congress had resolved to raise two Regiments of five hundred men in each, that we were then come there to enlist any that were willing. I then told them the terms and conditions of their entering into the service, they in general declared their willingness to go forth when called upon by the Congress but would not enlist nor were we able out of this company of remarkably large-sized men to get more than four, two of which Captain Cattele enlisted, the cause of this I attributed to the Captain who tho' he would show a seeming willingness, often said that if he wanted to go they would go, but would not quit their Captain. Many of those men are young men and would be very proper for the service as they have little and some no property, but live on the cattle of the neighboring stocks and deer they kill by fire hunting at night, as I was well informed; we had a little humorous hop here and returned into Hallifax County again the same night to our hospitable friend Mr. Smith, where we rested one day being the Sabbath, and on Monday Lieut. Dunbar being able to ride, and being desirous of going to town was sent off with Sergt. Hawes and 14 Recruits and one volunteer.

The same day I crossed Savvannah River at Perry's Ferry and proceeded up to Galphin's at Silver Bluff, where I met with Capt. Cattle again who had just got about fourteen men ready to go for headquarters. I halted here one day and enlisted two men Mr Galphin's hospitality was so great it was with difficulty I could get away however after seeing his Indigo fields and Spirals Pumps and breakfasting with his mixed breed

daughters politely enough educated with music &c we set out for Augusta and he with us as far as his saw-mill about three miles distant from Galphin Town, we proceeded from this place on a rough road and arrived at Fort More just in the close of the day. Fort More is built with stockades on a bluff about 200 feet above the bed of the river but is now so out of repair that neither the stockades or the barracks are tenable.

2. A GEORGIA CAMP MEETING IN THE PIONEER PERIOD

A letter to the editor, in the *Farmer's Gazette* (Sparta, Ga.), Aug. 8, 1807, signed Jesse Lee.

The Methodists have lately had a Camp-Meeting in Hancock County, about three miles south of Sparta in Georgia.– The meeting began on Tuesday, 28th July, at 12 o'clock, and ended on Saturday following. We counted thirty-seven Methodist preachers at the meeting; and with the assistance of a friend I took an account of the Tents, and there were one hundred and seventy-six of them, and many of them were very large. From the number of people who attended preaching at the rising of the sun, I concluded that there were about 3000 persons, white and black together, that lodged on the ground at night. I think the largest congregation was about 4000 hearers.

We fixed the plan to preach four times a day–at sunrise, 10 o'clock, 3 o'clock and at night; and in general we had an exhortation after the sermon. We had 14 sermons preached at the Stage; and 9 exhortations given after the sermons were closed; besides these, there were two sermons preached at the Tents on one night, when it was not convenient to have preaching at the Stage.

The ground was laid out in a tolerable convenient

place, containing 4 or 5 acres, and the Tents were pitched close to each other; yet the ground only admitted of about 120 Tents in the lines; the other Tents were pitched behind them in an irregular manner. We had plenty of springs convenient for to supply men and beasts with water.

The first day of the meeting, we had a gentle and comfortable moving of the spirit of the Lord among us; and at night it was much more powerful than before, and the meeting was kept up all night without intermission–however, before day the white people retired, and the meeting was continued by the black people.

On Wednesday at 10 o'clock the meeting was remarkably lively, and many souls were deeply wrought upon; and at the close of the sermon there was a general cry for mercy; and before night there were a good many persons who professed to get converted. That night the meeting continued all night, both by the white & black people, and many souls were converted before day.

On Thursday the work revived more & spread farther than what it had done before; and at night there was such a general stir among the mourners at the Stage that we did not attempt to preach there; and as we had but one Stage it was thought best to have preaching at some of the Tents. The meeting at the Stage continued all night and several souls were brought to God before day, and some just as the day broke.

Friday was the greatest day of all. We had the Lord's Supper at night, by candlelight, where several hundred communicants attended; and such a solemn time I have seldom seen on the like occasion; three of the preachers fell helpless within the altar; and one

lay a considerable time before he came to himself. From that the work of convictions and conversions spread, and a large number were converted during the night, and there was no intermission until the breake of day—at that time many stout hearted sinners were conquered.

On Saturday morning we had preaching at the rising of the sun; and then with many tears we took leave of each other.

I suppose there was about eighty souls converted at that meeting, including white and black people. It is thought by many people that they never saw a better Camp-Meeting in Georgia.

The people in general behaved exceedingly well; and there was not a public reproof given from the pulpit during the meeting. There were a few disorderly persons who brought liquors to sell, &c. But the Magistrates took some of them with a State warrant, and bound them over to court; after this we were more quiet. This Camp-Meeting will long live in the memories of many of the people who attended it.

3. ITEMS FROM THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY 1746 to 1754

Extracts from the records of Augusta County, Va., printed in the Virginia *Historical Register*, vol. iii, *passim*. The items are here given with editorial remarks as printed in the *Register*.

May 1746. "John Preston came into Court and prayed leave to prove his importation, which was granted him: and thereupon he made oath that, at his own charge, he had imported himself, Elizabeth his wife, William his son, and Lettica and Ann his daughters, immediately from Ireland into this colony, and that this is the first time of proving his said right in order to partake of his Majesty's bounty for taking

up land." At the same Court it was "ordered that Edward Boyle for damning the Court and swearing four oaths in their presence, be put in the stocks for two hours and be fined twenty shillings."

Feb. 19th, 1751. "The petition of John and Reuben Harrison praying a reward for killing two persons under the command of Ute Perkins, who were endeavoring to rob them, was read and ordered to be certified. . ."

Nov. 28th, 1750. "The grand jury for this county present Jacob Coger for a breach of the peace, by driving hogs over the Blue Ridge on the Sabbath day, within two months last past." At the succeeding May court, James Frame was presented "for a breach of the Sabbath in unnecessarily travelling ten miles," and was fined five shillings.

May 30th, 1751. "The petition of John David Wilpirt setting forth that he had been at considerable trouble and expense in coming from the Northward and settling in these parts—and that he has rented three lots in the new-erected town of Staunton, through which runs a good and convenient stream of water for building a mill—and praying leave to build a grist and fulling mill—was read," &c. The petition was opposed by John Lewis, who had a mill within a mile of town, and the case was taken to the General Court.

Aug. 28th. "Robert McClanahan, Gent., Sheriff, having informed the court that Henry Witherington, a servant boy belonging to John Stevenson, was in jail, and that he had an iron lock around his neck with a gag in his mouth—it is ordered by the court that he immediately take off the same." The numerous applications to the court in relation to indented servants show that there were many of them in the county at that day.

Aug. 29th. "Ordered that the Sheriff employ a workman to make a ducking-stool for the use of this county, according to law. . ."

Nov. 27th "The grand jury present Owen Crawford for drinking a health to King James and refusing to drink a health to King George. . . ."

Nov. 27th, 1751. "The court proceeded to lay the county levy, and allowance was made for 224 wolves' heads." Robert Breckenridge produced sixteen, and Alex. Wright fifty-one, which were assigned to them. Fifty thousand and six hundred pounds of tobacco was the amount paid for them.

Nov. 29th, 1750. "The Rev. John Todd, a Dissenting minister, came into court, and took the oaths prescribed by act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the abjuration oath, and made and subscribed the rest, which, on his motion is ordered to be certified."

March 22nd, 1753. "Henry Lancisco, A German Protestant, having produced a certificate from a Protestant clergyman of his having taken the sacrament, and made oath of his being an inhabitant of this colony upwards of twelve years, and having taken the usual oaths, certificate is granted him for obtaining letters of naturalization."

May 17th, 1754. "Anne—, wife of James—, having come into court and abused William Wilson, Gent., one of the Justices for this county, by calling him a rogue, and that on his coming off the bench 'she would give it to him with the devil'–it is therefore ordered that the Sheriff take her into custody."

4. SEEKING A WIFE

Extract from a letter of Peter Hoy, Staunton, Va., Sept. 15, 1764, to Col. William Preston, at Greenfield. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, QQ, vol. ii, no. 56.

I intend down as far as Richmond, perhaps as far as the capital some Time in October or November and have determined to call at Pamunky when down that I may no longer worship a shadow but either banish the Idol or admire the Fair, therefore must request you to let me know by the first Conveyance the name of the Charmer and whether the elder or the younger of the two sisters that bears the amiable character of being the most worthy of her sex, I shall likewise reconnoitre the fair enthusiast on this side of the stream, and by the assistance of our mutual friend Joel perhaps I may know how far my addresses there would be agreeable. If there comes time enough to have you answer by Capt. Lockhart it would greatly oblige, Dear Will, Your Affly.

5. INDIAN RELATIONS

(a) Warrant issued by James Patton, Augusta County, Va. (in the Shenandoah Valley), Jan. 30, 1755. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, QQ, vol. i, no. 70.

Augusta County

Whereas Complaint has been made to me James Patton one of his ma^{tys} Justices of the Peace for s^{d} County by the Emperor of the Cherroke Nation and Mr. Jno. Watts his interpreter that lately at the house of Erwin Patterson as the s^{d} Emperor was returning from the Governor of Virginia, one Jno. Conily Beat, Bled and abused him in a very gross manner contrary to the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King and the Laws now in force.

Charles Sinclair also complains [th]at he Killed and

Skinned Deer and left the Carcases by his fence, and on hearing of s^{d} Sinclair's complaint killed his two fine Dogs which he had for a Guard for his House. And as the s^{d} Conily is a known Vagrant Loose in his Morals and worse in his behavior on all occasions which he has verrified for these three years past on New River Holstons River Branches of Y^{e} Missipia. During w^{ch} time he has had no certain Place of abode but sulking about Pretending to be a Hunter & has been very abusive to several of his Ma^{tys} subjects in those Remote Parts And further the Emperor unless he has Rec^{d} Sattisfaction of Connily for s^{d} abuse he has rec^{d} he will inform his nation who will have Revenge on the white People for such [illegible] w^{ch} may be of Fatal Consequences to these Frontier [illegible].

To all Sherriffs & Constables & Officers of the Militia and Others of [his] Ma^{tys} Liege People in Augusta but in Particular to Captain Adam Harmon, Ebenezer Waishoat Allex^{r} Syers, Josep Crocket, Sam^{l} Starnicker & Rob^{t} Bon, to make Diligent Search for s^{d} Conily and when found to bring him before me under a suffc^{t} Guard be dealt with according to Law.

And I do hereby forbid and Discharge all Persons whatsoever to Secrete, Harbour, or Intertain S^{d} Conily as they shall answer to ye Contrary. Given under my hand and seal this 30th Jany. 1755. JAMES PATTON.

(b) Affidavit made by John Watts, Jan. 20, 1753, giving occasion for the issue of the above warrant. *Ibid.*, no. 71.

The Deposision of John Watts Taken before me-James Patton one of his Majestys Justices of the Peace for Augusta County–on his Oath saith That at Erwin Patterson house in said County the Emperor of the Cherokee Nation Being There was made Drunke and

afterwards insulted and abused in a very gross maner in so much that Erwin Patterson ordered him to Be tayed [tied?] which John Conley Did and in so Doing the Emperor was so much abused that the Blood gushed out of his mouth and Nose and when this Deponent cam and Relived the Emperor he said it was well for him he was there otherwise he Believed they would have killed him. Also it is consistent with his Deponents knowledge that Erwin Patterson and the Emperor had many Quarlles which was occasioned by an Empression the Emperor had of said Patterson having Criminal Conversation with the Empress and that once he had Discovered them in the very act and would have Shot them Both if he had had his gun. This above passage the Emperor related to this Deponent upon which the said Deponent discoursed with the Empress Concerning the matter which she acknowledged to Be true and that Patterson had Debautched her offten was criminel with her and promised to take her for his wife as soon as he would go to the Nation. Also this Deponent further saith that in the moneth of Jun Last the said Patterson came to the Cherokeey Nation with goods &c and as he was a stranger this Deponent made him acquainted with the Rulls and methods of treading with the Indians and told him what the Consequences of Breaking the Established Rulls of Regulation might be &c. Notwithstanding all the aforesaid caution the said Patterson Brok the known Rulles of tread which had Like to have Cost the Lives of all the Treaders then in the Neation who wer all obliged to Be on their Guard till with the Greatest Difficulty they got the Affair accommodated and made up By means of the Emperor and his Brother in

Law (a great warrior and a noble man of the first rank) who were Both fast friends to the white men &c. and furder this Deponent saith Nott. JOHN WATTS.
Sworen Before me the 20th of Janry. 1753.

6. DEFENCE

(a) A ranger's journal, Virginia, 1692, printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (Richmond, 1875), vol. i, 44. Printed also in K. M. Rowland's *Life of George Mason* (New York, 1892), vol. i, 21.

A Journiall of our Ranging, Given by me, David Strahane, Lieut. of y^e^ Rangers of Pottomack–

June 9^th^ 1692–We Ranged over Ackoquane & so back of the Inhabitants & y^e^ Soth–we returned & discovered nothing.

June the 17^th^–We Ranged over Acoquane, & so we Ranged Round persi[illegible] Neck, & ther we lay that night–And on y^e^ 18^th^ came to pohike, & ther we heard that Capt. Masone's serv^t^-man was missing. Then we went to see if we could find him, & we followed his foot about halfe a mile, to a house that is deserted, & we took y^e^ tract of a great many Indians & we followed it about 10 miles, & our horses being weary, & having no provisions, we was forced to returne.

June the 26^th^–We Ranged up to Jonathan Mathew's hs. along with Capt. Masone, & ther we mett with Capt. Housely, & we sent over for the Emperour, but he would not come, & we went over to y^e^ towne & they held a Masocomacko [?] & ordered 20 of their Indians to goe after y^e^ Indians that carried away Capt. Masone's man, & so we returned.

July the 3^d^–We Ranged up Meapisco, and so back of y^e^ Inhabitants, &c.

July 11^th^–We Ranged up to Brent-towne, & ther we lay, &c.

The 19th we ranged up Ackotink, & discovered nothing, &c.

So we Ranged once more in ye Neck till ye 20th Septbr then we marcht to Capt. Masone's, & ther we mett with Capt. Houseley & his men; so we draved out 12 of our best horses, & so we ranged up Ackotink, & ther we lay that night.

Sept. the 22d–We ranged due North till we came on a great Runn, that made into ye Suggar Land, & we marcht down it about 6 miles, & ther we Lay that night.

Sept. the 23d–We marcht to the Suggar Land . . . and the 24th, We Ranged about to see if we could find ye tract of any Indians, but we could not see any fresh signe . . . the 26th marcht to Capt. Masone's, & ther I dismissed my men until ye next march, &c., &c.

(b) Letter of R. Nelson, "Spring Emanance, Red River," Tennessee, Aug. 2, 1789, to Gen. Daniel Smith. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, XX, vol. iv, no. 56. The Red River of Tennessee, lying southwest of Nashville, was at that time on the edge of white settlement.

Spring Emanance Red River, Aug. 2, 1789.

Dear Genl. As it is more than probable you have been informed that matters were conducted in this lower quarter agreeable to your orders–I will trouble you with a few lines in order to ondeceive you.

So far as this they have been Complyd with–shortly after your orders issued two men were sent to Mr. Bills station Who stayed there 14 days. Some time after Two more Came and Stayed for 10 days. During their stay they did nothing except lie in the garison. would not even go to the fields to guard the People at work. Sayd it was orders from their officers to do so. The People was glad to git Clear of them as the only Service they done was to eat their Provisions there being

none sent with them. There was also two sent to Mr. Elliott's Station and perhaps one to Mr. Nevells which was an interior house. This is the total I assure you which every person in this End will certify (Ford replies that the min will not turn out (why should they) wheh no method is pursued to compel them. They have held Several Courtsmartials though never find but one man who had insulted Some of their Court– though its nothing but what we expect as he promised the people he could not on any Occation force them to do their duty If they would Vote for him to be Col. (we do not insist on having men at present as there seems to be a Still Time.

Its the generl wish of the people in this quarter that the first default may be taken holt of to remove those good Officers from Commission–as we never expect to have a chance of defending ourselves while they continue.

It is impossible to raise a scout to pursue the enemy when they invade us– (There is only about a dozen of us That does all That kind of duty.) Colo Ford instead of incouraging the men to turn out on those Accasions ruther Discourages–he says the last word you told him when he saw you last To indulge the People as far as possible. That it was a pitty to take them from their cropps he says you are a damd odd sort of a fellow. That you give one kind of advice in writing and another verbally that he hardly knows what to make of you–

If you conceive he has Committed a fault Sufficient to Cashire him I hope it will not be Sooth Over and youl Much Oblige a number in this quarter. as well as you[r] Humble Servt R. NELSON.
Brig. Dan. Smith

N.B. Should you call him to account Mr. Robt Duning and McCalister Polock and Ed. Shelby will be good witnesses. We would be fond to have it done before our numbers go down.

7. LAWLESSNESS

(a) Letter of S. Armistead, postmaster, Calland's Oldstone, Pittsylvania County, Va., Dec. 24, 1809, to Joseph Martin, member of the General Assembly at Richmond. MS. in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Draper Collection, XX, vol. ii, no. 59.

Dear Sir, You no doubt begin to want to hear from home–and this being the most convenient channel through which to give you information from these parts shall make use of it for that purpose whenever anything any way interesting or even amusing occurs, during your absence–You no doubt occasionally, as leasure may permit write me also–

For the present I have nothing interesting. Yr Bro: Tho: was here yesterday Mrs. Martin and Family are all well in health everything I believe going on in regular order–my little family also in health– I have made very good sale of my goods–great crowds of customers in which a few evenings ago a disagreeable occurrence happened between Wm. Garrett and Mathew Wells they split a difference about buying wine–which soon grew to a very passionate quarrel; when Garret drew out his knife, and swore if he was rushed upon he would stab him. Wells then came near him not seeing the knife (a dim fire light) rushed in upon him; which terminated in five or six stabs recd. by Wells–but fortunately not fatal–two in his Belly (not deep) one or two in his thigh (very deep and bled much) behind his shoulder–in his head &c. Garrett was arrested and tryed before Diven who bound him to bail for his appearance at next court–he will I think however undoubtedly be cleared–Wells having rushed on him.

Ed. Royester I am informed dec[d] Thursday last– occasioned it is said by drinking. Nothing more worth yr attention.

Oh! yes. Maj. Wells's race mare got beaten in a race 32 feet by a little sorrel horse belonging to one Deshaisher I Stone lost $20. . .

Give me the price of Tobo the news &c &c.

(b) News item in the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Jan. 24, 1837, reprinted from the *Miner's Recorder*, Jan. 14.

MURRAY COUNTY AGAIN. It is a matter of painful regret with us, at all times,to be called upon by a sense of duty we owe ourself, as a faithful journalist, to expose the lawless and outrageous conduct of any one, however obscure that individual may be. But, upon the present occasion, we should consider ourself highly culpable, were we to withhold from a scrutinizing public, the information we have recently received from the highest authority, in relation to the civil condition of that ill-fated county.

It has been reported to us, the truth of which we have not the least doubt, that the redoubtable Col. William N. Bishop, on the day previous to the recent election, collected his "friends" to Spring Place, and armed each man with a musket, for the sole purpose of conducting the pending election in his own way. That on Sunday evening some fifteen or twenty country people, unarmed and unprotected, known however, to be opposed to the Bishop party, came into town intending to remain until the election was over. But before they had procured a shelter for the night, the Colonel, at the head of his company charged upon them, and informed them that they could not, nor should not remain there, and at the same moment ordered his men to fire upon them, which was no sooner said than done,

wounding four of them, one it is said mortally. The Colonel and his right hand man, that pinck of purity and truth, George W. Wacaser, next attacked two gentlemen riding in a carriage, and with the butts of their muskets in a most shocking manner, bruised and mangled their heads and bodies On the day of the election, several travellers were peremptorily refused, and actually prohibited from voting at that place, for no other reason as it is supposed, other than, that the name of Col. Alford was on their tickets. When the election was over the returns from the several precincts of the county, were excluded from the Spring Place election, and that one, made out and certified to the Executive Department alone, by which it, of course, appeared that the "friends" of Bishop were elected Justices of the Inferior Court. This was the great object to be attained by him, cost what it might. The Judiciary, so far as Murray county is concerned as everybody knows, who knows anything of the situation of affairs in that county, is a perfect dead letter. The law makes it the duty of the Justices of the Inferior Court, the Sheriff, and the Clerk of the Superior Court, to revise the Jury box, and draw a jury. The county of Murray has been in existence for three years and upwards, but from the fact that Bishop has heretofore exercised an entire control over the Inferior court, a jury has never been drawn for that county, consequently the Superior court there has never transacted any of its business except that of calling the appearance docket, and disposing of bar motions. There are, as, we are informed, fifteen or twenty debt cases returnable to that court against Bishop, and as many indictments for high offences against the laws of the State, And hence it is, if he can again elect a court subservient to his will, a jury

will not be drawn for the next four years, or if drawn, it will be a packed one.

We also understand that the opponents of Bishop for several days after the election, were engaged in collecting a force, arms, etc. for the purpose of reducing that lawless bully to submission. How the affair has, or will terminate, we are unable to conjecture but trust, for the honor and reputation of our State, such a state of things will no longer be suffered to exist.

(c) News item from the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle*, Sept. 20, 1819. Extract of a letter to the Editor of the Baltimore *Patriot*–dated New Orleans, August 4, 1819.

We have received a report in the city from Barrataria, that the Renegado Mitchell has collected together upwards of 150 desperadoes, and has fortified himself on an island with several pieces of cannon, and that he has declared they will all perish within their intrenchments before they will surrender to any force. There are now about 100 men out in search of the late pirates, four of whom have been taken and are now in custody–but it will require good friends to get hung. A few days ago one of them with a pistol in each hand, marched boldly through the city guard of eight men, with fixed bayonets, and they boldly stood still, and let him get off clear–all true disciples of Hudibras. It is thought here that it will require five hundred men to destroy this nest of pirates. We want the strong arm of government extended to this section of the union. We are greatly neglected. I hope they will awake from their slumbers at Washington and try to put a stop to such plunders at our very doors. It is high time to be moving towards the Gulf of Mexico.

(d) Editorial from the Raleigh (N.C.) *Standard,* Nov. 1, 1837.

The most disgraceful scenes have been enacted at Vicksburg, Miss., under the operation of the savage custom, commonly called Lynch Law. One man has been dragged from the bosom of his family, and so maimed and mutilated as to become an object of horror and pity; another was forced from his house and hung upon the next tree; and on Sunday the 24th, an old man named Grace, formerly of Warrenton, Va., was tried and acquitted before a magistrate, charged with giving free passes to negroes. The lawful decision did not satisfy the mob. He was stripped and flogged within hearing of the shrieks of his wife and children.

We know that such shocking tales cannot be told of all the Mississippians; for we are sure the very reverse is the aspect of society in many places. But there is enough to cause our wonder that our citizens can be induced by the prospects of gain or any other lure to leave the fair Carolinas, the seat of hospitality, kindness and friendship, to consort with the cacodemons of Vicksburg and other sections of the south and west. Who so far from profiting from the example of our emigrants grow more reckless and abandoned and even have the presumption in their pergrinations to attempt the introduction of their lawless customs among us, in the shape of gamblers and bowie knife assassins. We would not be understood to say that the society of North Carolina is as yet much contaminated by these wretches. But now and then a desultory vagabond appears with cards, dice, pistols, and bowie knife; enticing only those however who are ripe for destruction, and who place themselves above public opinion and the influence of moral credenda.

XXI. MANUFACTURING

1. MANUFACTURING CENTERS

(a) News item from the Athens (Ga.) *Gazette,* June 13, 1816.

Lexington, Kentucky, May 8. The manufacturing establishments in and near this town have reached an eminence which ensures their permanent prosperity and usefulness. The Lexington woolen manufactory owned by Messrs. Prestiss & Co. and Mr. Sander's cotton and woolen manufactory, are in successful operation, besides numerous other establishments, on a smaller scale, of cotton, hemp etc. We understand that at Mr. Sander's about 150 hands are employed, who produce in manufactured articles the value of 175 dollars per day, or 1050 dollars per week, consisting of cotton yarns, sheeting, bed ticking, shirting, counterpanes, table cloths, chambrays, casinetts, sattinets, and woolen cords, etc.

(b) Clipping from the Kentucky *Gazette,* printed in the *Town Gazette & Farmers' Register* (Clarksville, Tenn.), Sept. 13, 1819.

We are highly pleased in being able to hope for the resuscitation of our Manufacturing establishments. The spirit and pride of our citizens will not sleep, even amid the agonizing pressure of the times. The extensive factory reared by the laudable enterprize of Mr. Lewis Sanders has fallen into the hands of Messrs. Postlethwait, Brand & Co. and operations are this day to be commenced. Much is to be expected from the worthy example thus set by the present proprietors. Perhaps there does not exist west of the Alleghany mountains so

judicious and formidable a preparation, for manufacturing, as is now in the hands of these gentlemen. Their success would give a glorious impulse to minor establishments. Their wealth and standing is pretty good security that their exertions will not abate; and every citizen in the community should exclaim, "God speed them."

(c) Editorial from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), April 1, 1845.

MANUFACTURES AT THE SOUTH. There is no mistaking the tendency of public opinion on this important topic. The success which has attended the efforts of those who have ventured their capital and labor in manufacturers at the South, has at last opened the eyes of the community, and but for the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of changing the vested capital of the country, we should see a rush into this new field of labor which would astonish the world. As it is, there is no doubt that a great amount of capital and labor will be thrown into manufactures at the South. Every paper we receive from the cotton growing region, seems alive to the importance of this subject, and many contain notices of the rise of new establishments in various branches of this almost untried field. . .

The position of our state in this change of industrial pursuits of the South, is a matter of pleasing regard to us. The City of Athens, has the honor and profit of having led off in this department of labor. Like a Northern manufacturing town she has her rail road, and her factories in full operation, and like them, her condition is flourishing, amidst the decline and delapidation of other places. Her position is a little remote from the cotton region, but the want of a sufficient water power is her great hindrance and puts a limit to her

operations. The scattering establishments in other parts of the State, are founded on the selfish plans too common in this region. They are placed on streams too small to allow of a great business, and will therefore languish, as all solitary attempts at works decidedly social in their nature, must do. No mistake is more fatal than that which locates a manufactory alone. It may for a time flourish, but can never sustain the competition which great communities of manufactories will bring forth.

(d) *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Nov. 28, 1848. Letter from one of the editors, then on a visit to Columbus, Ga.

Columbus, November 23, 1848. No community in this State, it may be safely affirmed, can boast of a larger number of men distinguished for talent and enterprise. The bar is undeniably the ablest in Georgia. If we were however to judge the enterprise of the place by the railroads that have been built upon paper, but have no other "local habitation" Columbus is not on this score, entitled to distinction. Her enterprise however, or rather that of a few of her citizens, has been exhibited in another way. Here to a greater extent than in any other part of the State, is manufacturing successfully carried on. Indeed, already may Columbus be denominated the Lowell of Georgia. Her water privileges are immense. Two extensive cotton manufacturies are now in operation. Col. Carter of Baldwin has just erected another, which in a few months will throw off its thousands of yards daily, and contiguous to that, is laid the foundation of another. Connected with one of these establishments is a machine shop, which manufactures all the implements, not only for the factories of the place, but fills orders for other and distant points. Hard by is the "variety shop" where lumber

is sawed and manufactured into all sorts of "notions." I have heard the opinion expressed, that in ten years, all the cotton received at this market, will be manufactured here. This is a large estimate, but the water facilities are ample, and the success of the past and the movements now in contemplation, render it not unreasonable.

2. IRON WORKS

(a) Advertisement from the Charleston (S.C.) *City Gazette*, May 12, 1795, describing the labor system in mining and smelting in the remote interior of the Carolinas.

SALE OF AERA & AETNA IRON WORKS, IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

On the first Monday and Tuesday in November next, will be exposed to sale by public auction, in the city of Charleston, to the highest bidder, by consent of the parties interested therein, those highly valuable and improvable Iron-Works, called Aera and Aetna, situated in York county within two miles of the Catawba river in the said State, together with about 15,000 acres of land lying contiguous to, and attached to the said Iron Works and on which are about twenty-five improved farms. On the settlement of the Iron Works are a good two story brick house, 40 by 35 feet, with cellars, and other necessary buildings, together with four grist and two saw mills.

There are upwards of ninety negroes attached to the works, between 70 and 80 of whom are grown, the rest are children. Most of these negroes have been employed for a considerable time at the works, and are very useful and valuable as forgemen, blacksmiths, founders, miners, and various other occupations.

The waggons, teams and every utensil belonging to the works, will be sold also; a schedule of which, added

to the negroes, as also plats of the land, will be ready to be produced in Charleston for ten days previous to the sale, and the whole may be viewed at any time on the spot.

The whole of the land, with the Iron Works, buildings, and improvements of every sort thereon, together with all the negroes, waggons, teams, and every utensil, agreeably to the schedule to be produced, will be exposed to sale in one entire lot.

The conditions of sale will be a deposit of one twelfth part of the purchase money to be paid down on the day sale, one other twelfth part when the titles are ready to be delivered, the remainder to be paid in 5 equal annual instalments, with the interest annually at the rate of 7 per cent. from the day of sale, on bond secured by a mortgage of the property, and such personal security as shall be approved. For a more particular and accurate description of these works and the lands attached thereto, reference may be had to the annexed state thereof, taken a few years past by a person well qualified therefor, and totally disinterested.

WILLIAM HILL, Proprietor of one moiety.

ISAAC HAYNE
THOMAS JONES
ED. DARRELL
} Executors of the estate of Col. Isaac Hayne, authorized to agree to this sale by the proprietors of the other moiety.

ACCOUNT OF THE IRON WORKS in South Carolina, made a few years ago, by a workman of skill and judgment on the spot, commonly called Hill's Iron-Works.

The high lands in general produce oak, pine, hickory, poplar, and some chestnut; the low lands generally mulberry, swamp oak, walnut, sycamore, &c, &c. 5500 acres of land were originally purchased with the works

on 1785, but near 10,000 acres have been run and purchased since. The works lie centrical to the lands, insomuch that from 4 to 6 loads of coal may be hauled per day; before there will be any occasion to go to an improper distance for coal, the woods will bear a second cutting.

The farmers are at present willing to give their wood gratis where they are clearing, it being to their benefit to get it off their land, reserving fencing. The hearths contain from 35 to 40 cords, and are generally filled 3 or 4 times (saw logs and sappling excluded) from an acre; horses are usually worked, though oxen would be preferable. A cord of wood is of the following dimensions; 4 feet long, 4 feet 4 inches high, 8 feet broad; the wood may be floated to the works, but heretofore it has been hauled. Six pounds of iron are usually given to the wood cutters for every cord cut, they finding themselves. The wood is generally coaled by colliers hired by the month; the wages commonly given to colliers are 400 lbs. of iron per month to the master collier, 250 lbs. to the under colliers, and much less to green hands.

Twenty pounds of iron or castings are usually given to a team for carting coal per day, they finding forage and driver. The coaling grounds is in general level and free from stone and gravel; the hearths are made at a small expence.

There is no store now established to furnish a regular supply to the work people; if a store of goods well laid in, was established, the hands would be better satisfied to take goods for payment at 125 per cent. advance, than they are now with the present mode of payment, which is either in bar iron or castings, according to their respective branches.

The distance of the ore from Aera furnace is 1¾, from Aetna furnace 1¼ mile; the ore appears to be inexhaustible. The ore works easy and well in the furnace; the metal is good for hammers, gudgeons, or any kind of machinery and hollow ware and will make good bar iron. Some trial has been made of it in steel, and it promises well: nothing is necessary in preparing the ore for use but burning. The ore is generally raised by monthly wages at 300 lbs. of iron per month, and one good miner can keep one furnace in blast. A team can draw four loads of ore per day, at the price above mentioned for a team.

The ore consists of large rocks above the surface, the depth not yet known; in cavities between the rocks lie an oker and feed ore. There will be no occasion to sink shafts or drive levels for 50 years to come.

The Aera furnace is built round, the thickness of walls at bottom 10 feet, the height from the bottom of the hearth to the tronnel head 35 feet, the cavity 11 feet above the boshes, 22 inches diameter at the tronnel head. The Aetna furnace is built square, and nearly of the dimensions of the Aera; it was built in 1788, and lately built put in blast. The inwalls of both furnaces are round.

Formerly the hearth stones were procured 25 miles distant from the works; they were of a yellow colour, hard quality, and stood the fire well. The longest blast ever yet made was 8 months, then blowed out from causes not owing to failure of the stones.

The stones now in use were lately discovered; within one mile of the works there is a large bed of them: these are yellow mixed with red, of a coarse grit, resembling a coarse grindstone; they dress easy; how long they will stand cannot be told, but they promise well. The in-

walls are made of the same kind of stone last mentioned. No great inconvenience was ever experienced from frost; in some very uncommon seasons, it may be necessary to cut away the ice from the wheels, but there is never any need to keep fires near the wheels.

A small quantity of lime stone is necessary for fluxing the ore, but there is an oker and sud ore in the ore banks, which is used together with the running cylinder, which makes the consumption of lime stone small. The distance of the lime Stone from the works is 22 miles; there is a prospect of getting lime stone much nearer in a short time.

The demand for hollow ware is so great (and having but one forge to supply with pigs) it has been necessary to keep the furnace upon a low burthen for that purpose, whereby 17 or 18 tons per week has been made; but, the furnace raised higher, it is supposed by founders, would make 25 tons per week, and the metal still be of a mottle. The greatest part of the iron is made into ovens, pots, flat irons, gudgeons, machinery, cranks, and at present there appears to be a great demand for machinery for rice-mills, grist, wind and saw-mills. The large extent of country to be supplied, the distant prospect of an other works being built, and the Charleston market (to which there will be speedily a navigation from the works) afford a prospect of a consumption of all that can be made. The current price per pound for flasked ware is 4⅜, open castings 3½d sterling; all pieces under 20 lbs. are sold by hand. It is probable that hands of all professions may be procured to carry on the works, and that goods would answer them better than cash in payment. The demand for bar iron is so great, that it cannot be told how many forges would be necessary to supply the country. The

proprietors have a great number of good seats for forges within a convenient distance of the furnaces. One of the furnaces takes on an average 20 and the other 25 half charges in 24 hours, 5½ feet deep. The furnaces each take 20 bushels of coal to a half charge. The ore boxes weigh 55 lbs. and it takes a box of ore to three bushels of coal. Three tons of ore produce 2500 lbs. of pig metal. Aera furnace is blown by two wooden cylinders 5½ by 5½ feet. Forge bellows ditto. Aetna furnace is blown by four wooden cylinders, worked by a cast iron cog wheel, wallowers and cranks.

The heads of water are sufficient to command the wheels. The Aera furnace wheels is full breast; Aetna furnace wheel low breast. Some of the wheels in the forge are overshot, and the hammer wheels high breast.

Aera furnace wheel is 26 feet high, 4 feet wide.
Aetna " " 28 " " 4½ "
The forge wheels 16 " " "
The hammer wheels 11 " 5 " "

If all the wheels in the forge were overshot, there would be water sufficient for forge and furnace all the year round, there being a head of water 19 feet; nine months in the year, there is water for two forges.

The present founder has 1250 lbs. of castings per month for his wages; he finds himself and pays his keeper's wages. Fillers wages 154 lbs. castings per month; boarding is generally 50 lbs. iron per month; the price of good beet is 30 lbs iron, pork from 35 lbs. to 40 lbs. iron per 100 nett; wheat is 8 lbs. iron per bushel, West India rum 2 dollars per gallon, country rum from 1¼ to 1½ dollars; wages given to labourers is from 100 to 130 lbs. iron per month, they finding themselves; 4 lbs. of iron is given per bushel for corn, 2½ ditto for oats; hay never has been bought, there

being sufficient meadow land belonging to the works to supply them with hay. The business is usually carried on by teams belonging to the works; but teams can be occasionally hired. Wheelwrights are paid 250 lbs. of iron per month, also carpenters; blacksmiths, 175 do., they finding themselves. The forge consists of 4 fires, 2 hammers under one roof and close to the furnace. The forge is capable, single handed to make one and a half ton of bar iron to one fire (if kept in good repair) per week.

The present hammerer is bound to make 2000 lbs. bar iron, out of 2200 lbs. anchonies; he is paid 2½ dollars per cent. for his over yield, and 150 lbs. iron for drawing 2000 lbs. Finers are paid for making 2240 lbs. anchonies, 200 lbs. bar iron. Iron is sold at short weight. Iron in the greatest demand is waggon tire, mill iron and plough shares. Coal generally used to make a ton of iron, is from 4 to 500 bushels. It takes generally from 26 to 28 hundred weight of pig iron to make a ton of bar iron.

At present the nearest landing is distant 70 miles, viz. Camden. The proprietors of the works and 7 others, have obtained a charter to open the Catawba to the North Carolina line, and a charter from North Carolina to open the river 80 miles higher in that state. A considerable part of the navigation is finished, and 'tis expected that boats will come within forty miles of the works this summer, as there are boats already built for the purpose, which are to carry 30 tons; and in the course of another summer, will be brought within 2 miles of the works. The works are within 2 miles of the river, and the creek can be made navigable up to the works. It is 6 days work to go and return to and from the landing (at Camden) at 20 lbs. of iron per

day, for carrying 2300 lbs. of iron. The price of bar iron is £37, 10s sterling for 2000 lbs. nett iron.

There are two dams, one at the Aera and the other at the Aetna works. The dam at the Aera is a strong frame on a flat rock, extending across the creek, the bottom plank jointed to the rock, so that it is impossible for it to blow; when the water rises it falls over without the trouble of drawing gates. It is 150 feet in length, and 10 feet high; it overflows to the tail race of Aetna furnace, which is two miles by water. The Aetna furnace dam is on the same construction, and nearly on the same kind of foundation, the same length and height as Aera. They are both in good order.

Both of the furnaces are new and in good repair; as there are two hammers in the forge, any repairs that might be wanting may be done without much loss of time. As to the general expence of carrying on the works, it has been so blended with building and enlarging the works hitherto, that it cannot be so readily ascertained.

No coals have ever been procured from the neighbors, nor application made for any, consequently the price cannot be ascertained.

April 29, 1795, by information of Mr. Hill, the foregoing remarks may be corrected, viz.

The hearth stones which at that time had not been proved, have been since sufficiently tried, and prove very good.

The navigation has not been completed as was then expected, but from the forwardness of the Santee Canal, and the revival of the company for improving the navigation of the Catawba, it is now expected that it will be accomplished in a few years.

Mr. Hill has since contrived a method, by means of

a fall of water, of blowing all the fires both of the forges and furnaces, so as to render unnecessary the use of wheels, cylinders, or any other kind of bellows, which method, by experience already had, is found to produce a better and more regular blast than any heretofore used, and is also not liable to the accidents of freezing, or machinery giving way in time of blast, as the others are, as well as being very simple, and the expence but trifling.

Charleston, May 12, 1795.

(b) Atlanta (Ga.) *Daily Intelligencer,* April 8, 1859, reprinting an article from the Atlanta *American,* describing the iron works of Mark A. Cooper in Cass (now Bartow) County, Ga., on the line of the Western and Atlantic Railroad.

The present accommodations of the Company embrace two Blast Furnaces, one which is just completed, a Rolling Mill containing seven Pudding Furnaces; two Heating Furnaces, and sets of Rollers for flat, round, square, oval, half-oval and half-round iron, of all merchantable sizes. In addition to these, are a Flouring Mill, and all the necessary buildings for owners, officers, men, store-houses, two dams across the river, the Railroad before described, and between eleven and twelve thousand acres of land rich beyond description or conception in iron ore. Thirteen years ago, Maj. M. A. Cooper purchased 1500 acres of land and invested in this property thirty thousand dollars. From that time to this, he has been struggling to develop it and while exhibiting the real value of this region, of Georgia, to realize the fruits of his arduous and honorable efforts. In 1856, he united with his present Co-partners, the Messrs. Hicks, and the Company became united as the Etowah Mining and Mfg Co. The indomnitable energy and far-reaching sagacity of the three, have since been combined in the effort to

develop this magnificent property. The accumulated profits have been worked in until now the Capital stock is computed at $200,000 invested in the property already enumerated and some negro property.

. . . . . .

When once set to work the blast furnace is kept going night and day the year around unless stopped for repairs. The Rolling Mills and the Merchant Mills run night and day for six days in the week. The annual product, after July the next, will be between twelve and fifteen tons per day. If 12-tons it will amount to:

3.600 tons at $80, amounts to .	$288.000
The Merchant Mill produces 30.000.	
Barrels of Flour which at $5.50 .	165.000
Making total . . .	453.000

The Blast furnace will burn 3000 bushels of charcoal per day and the Rolling Mill 500 bushels of bituminous coal per day; the former is made at the ground–the latter is bought in Tenn. and cost 20-cts per bushel. There are employed at the works about 300 people, at an average of $1 per day, amounting to $90,000 a year–and the bituminous coal costs $10,000 more. Prior to the building of the railroad, the cost of keeping teams, to do the transportation was over $1600 per year. The freights paid on necessary articles shipped to The Etowah Iron Works on the Western and Atlanta road amounting alone, to about $30,000, or a sum equal to that distributed by the State of Georgia for Educational purposes previously to the last Legislature. The population supported by this establishment is not far from one thousand souls.

3. TEXTILES—THE DOMESTIC SYSTEM

(a) Public notice issued by Robert Carter of Nomoni Hall, Northern Neck of Virginia, Sept. 2, 1777. MS. of this and the three following documents in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, Carter Papers.

This series of documents furnishes glimpses of conditions, which when taken in combination are very significant. The first tells that Robert Carter, a great Potomac planter, was also concerned in manufacturing, that in 1777 he had a number of free wage-earning operatives in his plant, whose services he was anxious to retain. The second shows that five years later Carter had begun to use slave operatives as perhaps a main reliance in the industry. The third tells that five years later the same overseer as in 1782 was directing the labor of about the same force of spinners and weavers, presumably negroes, but that the prospective profits from their labor were very small. The fourth document throws some light upon the character of the artisan class, and indicates the economic depression prevailing in Virginia in 1793.

Whereas Artificers, who are House-keepers, are at a loss how to rate their own labour, owing to the fluctuating state of the price of the necessaries of life, Provisions as well as clothing, and to cure this inconvenience for a certain time, as far as in me lies, I herein promise to supply the Families, who now live at Aires, in Westmoreland County, or other Families that may hereafter live there, with the enumerated articles at the prices sett after each: provided that the whole thereof can be furnished by sales of said articles sold from off my Plantations lying in the counties of Westmoreland and Richmond.

Indian meal delivered at Carter's double mill at 2/6 p bushel. Second Flour do do at 12/6 per 100. Pork in Barrels, weighing about 220 lbs. at £4 pr barrel. Gross Beef at 2d pr lb. Milk at 3½ p Quart. Butter at 10d pr lb. Cheese at 1/ pr lb. Brandy at 20/ p galon. Whiskey 12/6 p do.

The above rates to regulate the prices of said articles

till the 30th day of November A.D. 1778. As witness my Hand this 2d day of September A.D. 1777.

ROBT CARTER

(b) Contract of Robert Carter with Daniel Sullivan, overseer, for his negro clothworkers, Jan. 1, 1782.

Nominy Hall, January the 1st, A.D. 1782.

Be it remembered that Mr. Daniel Sullivan, weaver takes the care & management of six negro weavers–namely–George about 19 years old, Ralph, about 18 years old, Jeremiah, about 17 years old, Dennis, about 17 years old, Prince, about 13 years old, William, about 13 years old–four negro winders, namely–Kate, about 65 years old, Sally, about 16 years old, Ailce, about 15 years old, Mary, about 14 years old, at the Woolen & Linen Factory at Aires, belonging to Robert Carter, Esq. of Westm'd County.

The said Daniel Sullivan to be allowed twelve pounds, gold or silver money, or the value thereof in country commodities at the former selling prices, also twelve Barrels of Corn, four hundred pounds of Pork & fifteen pounds of picked Cotton, as a full satisfaction for one full year's work to begin from the first day of January 1782, to the 31st day of December following. As Witness my hand the year and day above written.

Test: GEO. GORDON.

his

DANIEL X SULLIVAN

mark

(c) Estimates of earnings by Robert Carter's slave spinners and weavers, furnished by Daniel Sullivan, Sept. 15, 1787.

Rates of spinning and weaving, given in by Dan'l Sullivan, 15 Sept. 1787.

Dear Sir, Concerning this next year's business in the regard of spinning & weaving, I have to the best of my

knowledge & understanding sum'd up what the spinnery would yearn in the run of this next insuing year also I have sum'd up how much the weavers would yearn supposing that spinners and weavers was to have the Blessing laid upon them that they never was to have a Days Sickness throughout the whole year. I am in hopes that you will be at the pains to read it. I am yr most Humble Servant DANIEL SULLIVAN.

To mention the price of spinning thread for brown rolls, @ ¼ lb. Do. for Oznabrigs 1/. Do for bagging 6d Do for Coarse Dawlaps 1/3 Do for Cotton warp for Coarse woolen 2/ per lb. Do coarse woolen for Stockings 1/3 Do a finer sort for do 1/6 Do of coarse Tow, 4d. Do of finer Tow 6d. Weaving brown Rolls, @ 4d. Do Oznabrigs 4d. Do Bagging 4d Do Coarse Dowlaps 6d. Do Coarse Woolen & Cotton Warp 4d. Do finer woolen Cloth 1s [This stricken out]. Do Coarse Cotton 4d.

17 spinners @ £7.16; £132.12. 4 weavers @ [?]; £110.

(d) Letter of James Benny, Fredericksburg [?], (Va.), Jan. 18, 1793, to Robert Carter.

Sir, I understand you have stocking frames, and as I was brought up in that business, in Ireland, and work in this country for several years past, till about four years ago till I had the misfortune to have my house with a stocking frame & all my goods consumed by fire, therefore would be glad to meet with employ from your Honor. I have a wife and three children, and has no way to maintain them but by keeping of a school which I do on your Honor's land. Hoping that if you cannot give me employ on your frames, that your charity will enable me to provide for my family by granting liberty to me to keep school on your land with four or five

acres of ground, and may the Lord of Heaven give you and yours that Blessing on the last Day which he will then pronounce to them that love him, saying Come ye Blessed of my Father inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning, for which I shall be in duty bound to pray. JAS. BENNY.

Please to direct a line or two by the Bearer.

(e) Record of Operations in George Washington's Weaving Establishment for the year 1767

Ms. record book among the George Washington papers in the Congressional Library

To whom belonging	When Brought		Weight of ye Thread		When Finished		Length		Weight of Ye Cloth		Bre of I
	Months	Days	Lbs.	Oz.	Months	Days	Yds.	Qrs.	Lbs.	Oz.	
John Alton	January	1	6	2	Jany.	2	10	..	..	..	3 Qr
G. Washington	Ditto	1	33	8	Ditto	6	36	..	..	..	Yard
Isaac Gates	Ditto	10	13	8	Ditto	10	30	..	..	..	3 Qr
James Wren	Ditto		30	12	Ditto	17	34	2	31	..	Yard
G. Washington	Ditto	17	47	..	Ditto	26	50	..	58	..	Yard
Danl. McKay	Ditto		6	..	February	24	10	..	6	..	3 Qr
Gilb. Simpson	Ditto	..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
G. Washington	Ditto	27	35	..	Ditto	26	44	..	47	..	Yard
Mary Mobbs	February	28	2	8	March	3	6	1	2	8	3 Qrs
G. Washington	Ditto		14	8	Ditto	7	50	..	27	..	3 Qrs
Danl. Talbot	March	2	20	..	Ditto	27	22	..	20	..	3 Qrs
Jas. Cleveland	Ditto	3	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Isaac Gates	Ditto	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
*G. Washington	Ditto	Do	34	8	March	..	56	..	53	8	Yard
Ha. Peake	Ditto	16	2	14	April	6	12	2	3	12	3 Qu
Dynl. McKay	Ditto	23	8	6	Ditto	11	19	3	8	6	3 Qr
Jno. Dulan	April	30	8	10	May	4	23	2	8	12	3 Qr
Colo. Bassett	Ditto	..	3	..	Ditto	25	13	..	3	8	Yard
Jno. Sheridine	Ditto	24	6	12	June	6	17	..	7	12	3 Qr
Danl. Talbot	Ditto	27	8	8	May	11	21	..	9	8	7 eig
Jas. Cleveland	May	2	6	2	Ditto	25	17	..	6	11	3 Qr
Mrs. Washington	Ditto	6	5	4	July	8	8	2	5	..	3 Qrs
Ditto	Ditto	Do	5	12	July	12	9	2	4	..	3 Qrs
Ditto	Ditto	Do	9	9	Ditto	6	24	..	11	12	Yard
G. Washington	Ditto	Do	9	10	May	15	34	..	21	8	3 Qrs
Ditto	March	16	25	..	March	21	43	..	50	..	Yard
G. Washington	May	12	15	8	May	21	53	1	31	..	3 Qrs
G. Washington	.....	15	15	..	July	8	53	..	33	..	3 Qrs
Mr. R. Sanford	.....	18	3	3	June	11	7	2	3	8	7 eigh
Mrs. Jane Shaw	.....	20	3	..	Septr	3	13	2	4	2	Yard
Jos. Moxley	.....	21	3	12	July	18	7	3	4	2	Yard
Saml. Johnston	.....	22	3	8	Augt	21	8	3	4	8	3 Qrs
G. Washington	.....	29	1	10	June	1	8	2	2	14	Yard
Mr. S. Washington	.....	30	3	4	.....	4	8	2	3	..	3 Qrs
Captn. Darrell	June	2	3	2	Augt.	5	8	1	4	2	3 Qrs
Mr. H. Peake	.....	2	1	4	Octr.	17	7	..	2	..	7 Eig
Thos. Wren, Junr	.....	3	3	14	June	15	7	3	3	15	7 eigh
Mr. Monroe	.....	12	5	4	Septr	25	16	3	5	4	3 Qrs
G. Washington	.....	22	10	..	June	26	15	2	18	..	Ell wi
Mr. Abed. Adams	.....	..	4	8	Do	..	14	2	6	6	3 Qrs
Miss Wades	July	1	4	15	Octr.	31	14	2	4	15	3 Qrs
Ditto	.....	1	4	..	Octr.	24	16	2	5	..	3 Qrs
Ditto	.....	1	6	8	Decr.	13	16	..	6	8	3 Qrs
Robt. Lindsay	.....	3	7	6	Augt.	20	13	3	7	8	3 Qrs
G. Washington	.....	17	11	8	July	22	37	3	20	..	3 Qrs
Jas. Cleveland	.....	19	10	9	Decr.	18	18	2	10	8	3 Qrs
G. Washington	.....	21	4	..	July	24	6	2	4	2	Yard
G. Washington	.....	22	10	..	Ditto	27	31	3	..	..	3 Qrs
Wm. Sinclare	.....	24	4	..	Novr.	21	7	3	4	1	7 eigh
Jno. Hendsworth	.....	24	4	..	July	27	8	..	4	..	7 eigh
G. Washington	.....	28	8	12	Augt.	5	16	..	8	..	3 Qrs
G. Washington	August	5	11	8	Augt.	26	40	3	22	4	3 Qrs
G. Washington	.....	18	11	8	.....	8	40	1	22	12	3 Qrs
G. Washington	.....	26	14	8	Septr.	10	46		29	12	3 Qrs
Saml. King	.....	23	1	10							
Jas. Cleveland	.....	26	11	..	Octr.	21	15	..	11	..	3 Qrs
Gilbt. Simpson	.....	27	3	8							
G. Washington	Septr.	4	20	4	Septr.	10	46	..	42	..	Yard
G. Washington	.....	10	15	....	.....	25	47	..	26	2	3 Qrs
G. Washington	.....	10	37	8	.....	19	49	2	49	..	Yard
Jno. Prescot	.....	10	10	3	Octr.	2	12	3	10	4	3 Qrs
Mrs. Washington	.....	18	6	....	.....	1	14	..	5	4	Yard
Ditto	.....	18	5	....	.....	6	8	3	5	..	Yard
G. Washington	Octobr.	6	25	....	.....	17	50	2	38	..	3 Qrs
Jas. Cleveland	.....	9	1	8	Decr.	1	8	2	3	..	Yard
G. Washington	Novr.	1	1	....	Novr.	5	6	3	2	4	Yard
Ditto	.....	5	1	4	.....	20	7	2	1	8	3 Qrs
Benj. Harris	.....	7	9	8	.....	19	14	2	9	..	3 Qrs
G. Washington	Octr.	16	15	....	.....	11	54	..	27	..	3 Qrs
Ditto	Novr.	18	29	....	.....	29	49	2	47	8	Yard
Ditto	.....	25	23	4	Decr.	22	48	..	23	..	3 Qrs
Total.....											

nu-ds he dth	What Kind of Cloth	Price per Yard s.	d.	Amounts to £.	s.	d.	Shute Wanted to Finh Lbs.	Oz.	Sickness with other Remarks & Occurs
00	Striped Wollen	..	5	..	4	2	....	....	
50	Woolen plaided	..	6	..	18	..	....	....	Jany. 22d. & 23d. dressd.
00	Cotton striped	..	5	..	12	6	....	....	pd. thread a 3/6 pr. Day 7/.
50	Linnen	..	5	..	14	2	....	....	c
50	Wool-birdeye	..	6	1	5	0	11	....	
00	Linnen	..	4	..	3	4	....	....	pd.
...	.....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	Cut out — too bad to wea'e.
50	Wool-birdeye	..	6	1	2	..	12	....	
00	Cotton-plain	1	..	..	6	3	....	....	pd. hindd. with Sickness fm.
50	Linnen	..	6	1	5	..	13	....	29th. Jany. till 25th. Feby.
00	Cotton-filld. no wool	..	4	..	7	4			pd.
...	.....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	Not to be wove.
...	.....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	Ditto-Ditto
00	Linsay-plaided	..	6	1	8	0	19	....	
00	Cotton-striped	1	..	..	12	6	....	9	c March 16th. 17th. & 18th. ma
00	Thread & Cotton-birdeye	1	..	..	19	9	....	....	pd. king Harness for Colo.
00	Ms. & Os.-plaided	1	1	1	5	3			pd. Bassetts Cloth o. 9-0
00	Cotton-India Dimity	2	6	1	12	6	....	8	not chargd.
00	Ms. & Os. Cotton	1	..	..	17	..	1	....	Chargd.
00	Cotton-birdeye	1	..	1	1	..	1	....	pd.
00	Cotton Ms. & Os. Courtn.	1	..	..	17	..	....	10	c Warpd to 15 yds.
00	Cotton & Wool	..	8	..	6	4	....	....	
00	Cotton-Jumpstripe	2	..	..	19	..	....	....	
00	Cotton-birdeye	2	..	2	8	..	2	12	
50	Linnen	..	4	..	11	4	11	6	Warpd to 33 yds.
50	Wool-birdeye	..	6	1	1	6	25	....	
00	Linnen filled w' Tow	..	4	..	17	8	15	8	Warpd to 51 yds.
00	Linnen	..	4	..	17	8	18	....	Warpd to Do.
00	Cotton birdeye	1	3	..	9	4	....	5	c Warpd to 7 yds.
00	Cotton stripd w' Silk	2	..	1	7	..	1	12	c
00	Roman M.	1	6	..	11	6	....	4	pd
00	Cotton Counterpn.	1	1	..	8	9	1	....	c
00	Do. Janes Twilld	2	6	1	1	3	1	4	
00	Do Do Do	1	6	..	12	9	....	....	not chargd.
00	Bird eye Cotton	1	..	..	8	3	1	....	c
00	Jump stripe	2	6	..	17	6	....	12	c
00	Cotton-bird eye	1	3	..	9	9	....	....	c
00	Cotton striped	..	10	..	13	9	....	....	c
00	Woolen	..	10	..	12	11	8	....	
00	Striped Cotton	..	8	..	8	6	....	....	c
00	Ditto Ditto	1	..	..	14	6	....	....	c
00	Ditto Ditto	1	8	1	7	6	....	....	c
00	Roman M	1	..	1	0	0	....	....	c
00	Bird eye Cottn	1	..	..	13	9	....	....	c
00	Linnen	..	4	..	12	7	19	....	Wove by Dick
00	Plain Woolen	..	4	..	6	2	....	....	c
00	Jeans	2	6	..	16	3	....	....	
00	Linnen	..	4	..	10	7	....	....	Wove by Dick.
00	Birdeye	1	3	..	9	9	....	....	pd.
00	Ditto	1	6	..	12	..	....	....	pd Sick from ye 25th
00	Linnen		4	..	5	4	....	....	July to the 3d. of Augt.
00	Linnen	..	4	..	13	7	11	....	Sick from the 6th. of
00	Linnen	..	4	..	13	4	11	4	Augt. till the 17th. of Do.
00	Linnen	..	4	..	18	8	14	4	
				..		.	....	....	
00	Woolen	..	4	..	5	..	....	....	c
00	Linsay Woolsey	..	5	..	19	2	18	....	
00	Linnen	..	4	..	15	8	11	8	
00	Linsay Woolsey	..	6	1	4	9	....	....	
00	Linnen	..	4	..	4	3	....	....	pd.
00	Cotton	1	..	..	14	..	....	....	
00	Woolen	..	6	..	4	4	....	....	
00	Linsey &c.	..	4	..	16	10	13	....	
00	Huccabac	1	3	..	11	..	1	8	c
00	Cotton	1	6	..	10	2	1	4	
00	Cotton & Silk	2	6	..	18	9	....	4	
00	Woolen	..	4	..	4	10	....	....	pd. 2 Turkeys & 7 Chickn.
00	Linnen	..	4	..	18	..			
00	Linsey	..	5	1	0	5	18	8	
00	Linnen	..	4	..	16	..	....	....	
		..	..	51	11	1	.....	.....	for the years Work. —

(f) SUMMARY, BY WASHINGTON OF THE OPERATIONS OF HIS WEAVERS IN THE YEAR 1768, AND ESTIMATE OF EARNINGS

Spun & Wove in the year 1768 for my own use as follows: viz.—

	Yards	Weight	Price		
Linnen	66½	30	£1	13	3
	24½	13		8	2
	34½	17		11	5
	36	17		11	8
	33½	17		11	3
	33	16		11	4
	34	17		14	2
	33½	18		13	11
	13	5	1	6	0
	41	19		13	8
	40	11	2	0	0
	41	22		13	8
	43½	22		14	6
	42	23		14	0
	46	24		15	4
	52	31		17	6
	56	30		18	10
	46	26		15	4
	49½	26		16	8
	50¼	26		17	0
	815¾	410	£16	17	8
Deduct	43		3	6	0
	772¾		£13	11	8

	Yards	Weight	Price		
Woolen	48½	43	£1	4	3
	49¾	57	1	4	11
	50	66	1	5	0
	50	66	1	5	0
	50	68	1	5	0
	53	63	1	2	3
	54	63	1	2	8
	355¼	426	£8	9	1
Linsey	46	51		19	2
	48¾	47	1	0	3
	49¾	49	1	0	8
	144½	147	£3	0	1
Cotton	7		1	1	0
	33		1	8	0
	40		2	9	0
Linsey	144½	147	3	0	1
Woolen	355¼	426	8	9	1
Linnen	815¾	410	16	17	8
Total	1355½	983	£30	15	10

A Comparison drawn, between Manufactoring & Importing; the Goods on the other side: viz.

To 509 yds. of best Cotton, to supply ye place of 365 yds. wool and 144 yds. Linsey	@ 1s. 6d.	£38. 3. 6	Wool to make 365 and 144 yds. of woolen Cloth, viz. 499 lbs.	@ 1s. 3d.	£32. 5. 0
To 773 yds. of best Ozbs. as on ye other side	@ 8d.	25.15. 0	Hemp to make ye Contra Cloth, 800 lbs.	@ 4d.	13. 6. 6
To 40 yds. Huck.	@ 2s.	4. 0. 0	Weaving the above Cloth that is 509 yds. woolen, 773 yds. Ozgs, Cotton, &ca.		30.15.10
To 13 yds. Diapr.	@ 3s.	1.19. 0			76. 7. 4
To 7 yds. Jeans	@ 5s.	1.15. 0			
To 33 yds. Cotton	@ 2s.	3. 6. 0			
		74.18. 6			
Charges 12½ p. ct.		9. 7. 4			
		84. 5.10			
25 p. ct. difft. each:		21. 1. 5	Balance		28.19.11
Curry		£105. 7. 3			£105. 7. 3

Note. By this acct. it appears that the above Balance of £28.19.11 is all that is to defray the expence of Spinning–hire of one white Woman, & 5 Negroe Girls–Clothing–Victualling–Wheels &ca.

My own work, £30.15.10
For Sundries, 23. 7. 6
£54. 3. 4

Total amt. of Weaving is £54.3.4.

(g) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette* (Williamsburg), Jan. 13, 1774.

Surry County (Cabin Point), Dec. 27, 1773. This is to inform the Publick, and those Gentlemen in particular who were so kind to assist me in my Plan for executing my Fulling Mill, that it is now complete, and at Work. All persons that are disposed to encourage this laudable Undertaking I shall be obliged to for their Favours. I advise the Publick, that I have two Looms at Work that weave five Quarter Yard wide Cloth, as it is much to the Manufacturers Advantage to have their Cloth, wove of that Width. My price for Weaving is one s. a Yard, Filling, Dying, Dressing &c. 1s. more, for common Cloth, but dearer for live Colours. Those Persons that dye their Cloth in Grain have it done much cheaper; all mixed Cloths require Nothing more than Filling and Dressing, which are done at a moderate Price. Some Time ago a Person of the Name of Willie set forth a small Pamphlet, which any Persons that are disposed to have Cloth made would do well to, attend to; but as it may not be in the Power of every One to get them who may be desirous to have Cloth made, I shall observe to those, that it is very necessary to have the Wool sorted, taking the fine from the course, young Sheeps Wool from old. After this is performed, let it be well washed and greased, then carded with a Pair of coarse Cards into large Rolls or Batts. These Batts are to lie broke all to Pieces by Hand, and laid in a Heap. You may break them as often as you please; the more your Wool is mixed the evener and prettier the Cloth will be when milled. After this Operation, it is in Order to be carded into Rolls for Spinning, which is to be a moderate Twist for the Warp, not too hard. The Filling is to be spun

as slack as you well can spin it; so that it bear winding it is sufficient. Those who choose to weave it themselves should slay it thin, and not weave it too close. The opener the Cloth is the more beautiful it will be when fulled. All Persons that send their Yarn to me may depend on the utmost Punctuality, and that their Instructions shall be duly observed. I am the Publick's most obedient Humble Servant, WILLIAM SIMMONS.

N.B. It is to be observed, that I work for ready Money only; and that any Person who wants to be supplied with Wool may have it of me.

(h) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette,* Sept. 8, 1774.

The Subscriber, understanding as many Branches of the Weaving Business as any Person in this Colony, would be very glad to set up a Manufactory for weaving Linens, Cottons, Woollens, and Ship Canvass, which he will engage shall not be inferiour to any imported from Britain. He was employed for three Years by Warner Lewis, Esq; of this County, to whom he refers any Gentleman for his Character and Abilities in his Profession; and will be ready to wait upon any One, at any Time or Place. WILLIAM ROBERTS.

(i) Advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette,* Dec. 10, 1767.

Run away from the subscriber, about the 3d of last month, in Prince William county, near Dumfries, a Scotch servant man, named Robert Craig, about 5 feet 5 inches high, by trade a weaver, of a dark complexion, wears his own black short hair, and talks the Scotch dialect very broad; had on when he went away a drab coloured cloth great coat much patched, a jacket made out of an old Dutch blanket, and an old felt hat welted round the brim with coloured thread, and an old pair of osnabrug breeches, and a pair of ribbed yarn hose.

Any person taking up the said servant, and conveying him to me, shall receive a reward of Three Pounds Virginia Currency, besides what the law allows.

WILLIAM BRIGGS.

N.B. The above servant, I am informed, has wrote himself a discharge.

(j) Advertisement from the Tennessee *Gazette & Mero District Advertiser* (Nashville), Oct. 24, 1804.

BLUE, RED, GREEN, BLACK, AND YELLOW DYING. I will color cotton and linnen thread, a deep blue, at four shillings and six pence per pound; and a light blue, at two shillings and six pence per pound; and the other colors mentioned I will dye upon woolen at 2 shillings per pound, and will warrent them to stand equal to any ever dyed in America, for I dye with the warm dye. I am also ready to accommodate the public with diaper carpets, double coverlids, and summer counterpanes; weaving at the house of Maj Buchanan, who owns a grist mill, on Mill creek, four miles from Nashville, on the road leading to Jefferson. Remember, when preparing your coverlid thread, if all cotton, to spin it ten cuts to the pound, double and twist it; one half must be dyed blue, and the other well bleached; and if one half is woolen, be sure to spin the cotton one cut finer to the pound than the woolen yarn, and no more– eighteen pounds will make two coverlids. For summer counterpanes, spin your warp as fine as you can, and double and twist it well; and whatever size your warp is to the pound your filling must be only half as fine, and six pounds of each will make two counterpanes– Filling to be single. I will take cotton thread, or woolen yarn, in payment, if spun as above, and I will give a generous price for the same. Those who wish to purchase coverlids, will be supplied on the most reasonable

terms–and those who wish to be instructed in the above branches of business, will be accommodated by application as above. ADAM MAGUIRE.

(k) Advertisement from the Kentucky *Gazette and General Advertiser* (Lexington), Sept. 4, 1806.

WOOL CARDING MACHINE. By the 20th instant, the subscriber intends having machines in complete operation in Lexington for picking, breaking and carding sheep's wool into rolls, all which will be done at 10 cents per pound, with the addition of 2 cents for mixing wool of different colours, and 5 cents per pound for picking and breaking Hatter's wool. The burrs and sticks must be extracted, and the wool sent in sheets with one pound of grease to eight of wool and the rolls will be so packed as to carry on horse back 50 miles without injury. Country linen, feathers and wool received in payment, if delivered in hand. Wool left with Mr. John Lowry, Hatter in Lexington, will be attended to by the publick's humble servant.

D. S. NORTON.

(l) Advertisement from the Elkton (Md.) *Press*, July 19, 1828.

WOOL CARDING. Cloth Manufacturing, Fulling, Colouring, &c. The Subscriber respectfully informs the Public, that he continues to have wool carded into rolls, or manufactured into cloths, cassimeres, or blankets, at his Mills, seven miles above Elkton, with competent workmen to attend to the same. For those whom it is most convenient, wool will be received at the store of Messrs. Wingate and Manly, Elkton,– Benjamin W. Harris, Back-Creek,– Alfred C. Nolan, Cecilton,– and return to the several places, either in rolls or manufactured as directed.

A list of terms and prices will be left at the Store of

each of the above named gentlemen, who are authorized to settle for the same.

Persons wishing to Barter or exchange their wool for cloth, &c. can be supplied by calling at the Factory, where there is a considerable quantity ready prepared.

From a long continuance in the business, comment is deemed unnecessary. WILLIAM GARRETT.

(m) Advertisement from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), June 22, 1858.

WOOL CARDING AND WEAVING. The Milledgeville Manufacturing Company would again call the attention of the public of their new and improved machinery, for carding wool and weaving kerseys. Having only had it in operation since last fall, it has given unprecedented satisfaction in Carding Rolls and Weaving Kerseys.

Persons, having woven their cloth at home will notice the fact that rolls carded by our machinery are superior to any heretofore produced.

To Merchants, We recommend the kerseys of our own manufacture, also our well known onsaburg shirtings, stripes and yarns. Orders for them are respectfully solicited, and should be directed to the Milledgeville Manufacturing Company. E. WEITZFELDER, Pres. Milledgeville, April 20, 1858.

P.S. We pay the highest market price for wool.

4. TEXTILES–THE FACTORY SYSTEM

(a) A traveller's news item from *Niles' Register* (Baltimore, Md.), June 23, 1838.

ALABAMA COTTON FACTORY. The Tuscaloosa *Monitor* of the 30th ult., gives the following interesting description of this establishment:

As we were travelling some two weeks ago, through

rather a sterile and unimproved portion of our state, where the county of Bibb borders on that of Tuscaloosa, we were all at once surprised with an imposing edifice of brick, three stories high, and being, as we afterwards learned, ninety feet by forty-four in extent. The dashing energies of water power saluted our ears, accompanied with the whirling sound of diversified machinery. What have we here? was our inquiry. We left our seats in the stage, and during the few moments which we had to spare, took a view of the works that were going forward. In the second story we found the carding and roping operations going forward; and in the third, a multitude of spindles were employed in the finishing work of making cotton yarn. A few hands, men, women, and children, seemed to be employed, in rather a quiet way, in attending to the machinery, and seeing that it performed its business correctly. In another apartment, the cotton gin is in operation; so that the factory is prepared to take the cotton, either after it has been picked, or in the seed. In the spinning department, there have been in operation, heretofore, 500 spindles; but they have recently obtained an additional supply, and will very soon be working between 700 and 800. There is a water power sufficient, we are assured, to work 10,000. The cotton yarn produced is said to be of an excellent quality. A lady of the neighborhood affirms that she wove 30 yards of it without breaking a thread. The average production per day, with five hundred spindles, has been 430 dozen. About twenty hands are employed–all white–some males, some females–some large, and some small. They are chiefly people of the neighborhood, and are said to be pleased with their employment. A grist mill and saw mill are connected with the works, which are in active and profit-

able operation. A portion of the machinery is also devoted to wool carding. The place is called Scottsville, in honor, we suppose of D. Scott, one of the principal proprietors. The works belong to, and are conducted by the Tuscaloosa Manufacturing Company. We learn, that the prospects of the company as to profit, are exceedingly flattering. Their sales are brisk. They contemplate adding a weaving factory to the other works. Thus has this business been successfully carried forward, while very few persons in the state knew that any thing of the kind was under way. Indeed we doubt whether the information, that such a factory exists, may not be news unheard of before, to more than one half of the people of Bibb and Tuscaloosa counties.

(b) Editorial from the Georgia *Courier* (Augusta), July 24, 1828.

It has not been long since we announced the departure of one of our enterprizing citizens to the North, to make the necessary arrangements for commencing manufactures in Jefferson county, Georgia. We have been just informed that Col. Breithaupt, of our sister State, has gone North for the same purpose, in order to establish a Cotton Factory in Edgefield District, South Carolina. Success attend their laudable enterprise.

Since writing the above we have seen a subscription paper for Stock to establish a Factory for Cotton and Wool in Richmond county, on which in less than an hour upwards of $8000 were subscribed in this city.

(c) Editorial from the Georgia *Courier* (Augusta), Oct. 9, 1828.

Col. Breithaupt, whose public spirit and enterprise recommended him as a suitable agent for a Manufacturing Company about to be established in South Carolina, has returned from the North, where he had gone to examine the New England Factories, and to obtain the

requisite machinery. He speaks with enthusiasm of the improvement of the Northern States, and the liberality of their citizens. Great interest was taken in exhibiting their manufacturing establishments and explaining everything connected with them. A partner of the oldest manufacturer in the Union, was particularly zealous in showing him the oldest manufactory and giving him advice in relation to the objects of his visit. He remarked to him that the Southern States had every advantage over the Northern, in Manufacturing, but that the former must buy their experience as the latter had done. He advised him not to commence on too large a scale, but to confine operations within a moderate compass, till the workmen become expert, and experience should render profit on a large scale certain. In proof of the superior manner in which the machinery of the Northern Factories is executed, Col. Breithaupt states that the agent of an extensive Cotton Factory about to be established in Prussia, after visiting England, gave the preference to American machinery, and ordered at one Factory machinery to the amount of $100,000. The workshops where such business is dispatched, are filled with orders, many of which cannot be executed under eighteen months. Col. Breithaupt could not get what he wished made in time at the North, and therefore employed, under the recommendation of experienced manufacturers, a number of Mechanics, sufficient to make the machinery he wanted, and whose arrival in South Carolina he is daily expecting. Our fellow citizen, Mr. Schley, who went North for the same object, is, we believe, engaged in making machinery for a cotton Factory in Jefferson County.

So far from obstructing the object of Col. Breithaupt, our northern fellow citizens were particularly polite

and attentive in affording every facility towards its accomplishment, and expressed their surprise that much of our capital had not been sooner employed in manufacturing enterprise.

(d) Advertisement from the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), Sept. 3, 1834.

NOTICE. The Eatonton Manufacturing Company have now the pleasure of informing the public, that their Cotton and Woollen Manufactory will be ready to commence operations in a few days, and will probably be in full operation by the 20th of next month, (September.) A large supply of Cotton Yarn, from No. 3 to No. 20, will be constantly for sale; and, as they expect to weave from six to eight hundred yards of Cloth per day, they will be able to sell that quantity of the various qualities. Their Woollen Manufactory will be very complete; and first, in operation, they will card wool, or card and spin wool, or card, spin and weave Woollen Yarn on Cotton Warp, and make an excellent article for Negroes' winter clothing. They very confidently believe that all of their Manufactures will be of superior quality, as their machinery, gearing and general ability to do good work is of the first order, and the Company determined to sell at very reduced prices. They wish to sell to, and will make it the interest of, the merchants of this and the neighboring counties to buy of them, or to sell for the Company as agents. They wish to purchase, at an early day, a quantity of good Wool. They also wish to hire twenty to thirty suitable laborers to work in the Factory. White women, girls and boys are such as will be wanted, aged ten years or upwards. Entire families may find it to their interest to engage in our service. A good house of entertainment will be kept near the Factory.
Eatonton, August 22, 1833.

(e) Advertisement from the Kentucky *Reporter* (Lexington), Sept. 12, 1829.

NEW STEAM WOOL CARDING FACTORY. Hart & Curd have erected a large and convenient building for Wool carding, Spinning and Weaving, opposite the Watch House on Water street, where they have in complete operation, New Cards, made by one of the first mechanics in the Western Country. Their Carding will be done equal if not superior to any in the State. Wool will be Spun at a fair price; Colouring and Weaving of Carpeting executed on the shortest notice and in the best manner.

The price of Carding common clean Wool, will be 7 cents per pound; mixed and Merino higher in proportion to the trouble.

They will keep constantly on hand and for sale at the Factory, Jeans and Linseys, Of every description, from the coarsest, such as is used for Negro Clothing, to the finest that can be made of the best Merino Wool.– Also, Carpeting Of The Best Quality.

Fine Yarns, white and colored, for Stockings and Socks. They will receive in payment for Carding, Spinning, Colouring, Weaving, or for any of the above articles, Wool, Wood, Pork, Lard, Feathers, Bacon– in short, they will receive all most any article the farmers may have to dispose of.

The highest price in Cash, will be given for good clean Wool.

(f) News item from the *Athenian* (Athens, Ga.), Feb. 15, 1828.

The Richmond *Compiler* says a factory is to be attempted in Virginia by a gentleman of Richmond. "This factory is to be taken by an English artist who has been living in Del. Co., Pa., and is now in Richmond. Machinery already provided. Will begin with

800 or 1000 spindles, and if it succeeds will enlarge business with the demand. Expect to go into operation in 8 or 9 months."

(g) *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), April 15, 1845. Letter from a citizen reprinted from the *Southern Banner* (Athens, Ga.). Argument that the building of railroads will injure the local manufacturing.

Brother Mechanics of Georgia, and Especially of our own Village: The Mechanics of all kinds in this country are injured by rail roads to some extent. They are brought single handed to compete with those large manufacturing establishments in the northern States and foreign countries, where labor is worth comparatively nothing, brought in opposition by the aid of steam and the rail roads as it were in your own village, by the transportation of the manufactured articles of all kinds, and sold at your own shop doors at reduced prices by your own merchants, and bought by your own farmers, from whom you expected patronage. Is not this one of the main causes why your villages are not flourishing, the houses vacant, and in a dilapidated condition, your academies destitute of teachers, or if teachers, destitute of pupils? It certainly is one of the main causes why Mechanics are reduced to poverty, not being able to build up our towns and cities or to educate their children so as to make them respectable members of society. Brother mechanics, this is not as it should be– then rouse up from your lethargy, go drooped down and depressed no longer, come forth in your might and power, and at once, as it were, you will be able to correct the evil.– You should form yourselves into large and permanent manufacturing companies. With your skill and enterprise you may soon rear up in your midst, manufacturing establishments of various kinds to manufacture those very articles that afford a considerable

item in the commerce of the country, make your towns and villages soon become flourishing, affording a great market for surplus products, raised by the farmers in our own midst—and as all classes will feel the benefit in a short time it will be but a little while before your business will be profitable to yourselves and the country in which you live. I might be asked to suggest some plan to give the above suggestions a permanent and practical notice to the community at large. One that I would mention is that it should be the business of every mechanic of every branch of business, to apply himself closely to his business. Let that be his daily employment, instead of, as is too often the case, quitting his shop, taking the streets, becoming a street politician, a dandy, or a drunkard. Remedy those three evils and the work is half accomplished. A MECHANIC.

5. TEXTILES—CAPITAL AND LABOR

(a) Lyell, Charles. *Second Visit to the United States* (New York, 1849), vol. ii, 236-237. Observations at Columbus, Ga.

The water-power at the rapids has been recently applied to some newly-erected cotton mills, and already an anti-free-trade party is beginning to be formed. The masters of these factories hope, by excluding colored men—or, in other words, slaves—from all participation in the business, to render it a genteel employment for white operatives; a measure which places in a strong light the inconsistencies entailed upon a community by slavery and the antagonism of races, for there are numbers of colored mechanics in all these southern states very expert at trades requiring much more skill and knowledge than the functions of ordinary work-people in factories. Several New Englanders, indeed, who have come from the north to South Carolina and Georgia, complain to me that they can not push on their

children here, as carpenters, cabinet makers, blacksmiths, and in other such crafts, because the planters bring up the most intelligent of their slaves to these occupations. The landlord of an inn confessed to me, that, being a carrier, he felt himself obliged to have various kinds of work done by colored artisans, because they were the slaves of planters who employed him in his own line. "They interfere," said he, "with the fair competition of white mechanics, by whom I could have got the work better done."

These northern settlers are compelled to preserve a discreet silence about such grievances when in the society of southern slave-owners, but are open and eloquent in descanting upon them to a stranger. They are struck with the difficulty experienced in raising money here, by small shares, for the building of mills. "Why," say they, "should all our cotton make so long a journey to the north, to be manufactured there, and come back to us at so high a price? It is because all spare cash is sunk here in purchasing negroes. In order to get a week's work done for you, you must buy a negro out and out for life."

(b) Georgia *Courier* (Augusta), June 23, 1828, reprinting an editorial from the Savannah (Ga.) *Mercury*.

A citizen of this place, who has lately visited the falls a few miles above Augusta, and who is perhaps one of the best practical mechanics in the Southern States, assures us that mills or factories of any description, and to almost any extent, could be easily put in operation at that place. The estimate of capital for an establishment sufficiently extensive to manufacture a thousand yards of coarse cottons, does not exceed forty thousand dollars.

By the evidence taken before the Committee on Man-

ufactures, at the last session of Congress, it appears that the capital invested in manufactories, at the North, where the coarser descriptions of cotton are fabricated, yield an interest of ten per cent. and upwards! What would the profits be were the raw materials furnished them at a deduction of nearly one-third?

Now, labour of that description required in cotton manufacturies, may be obtained as cheap in Georgia as in Massachusetts; and the raw material 30 per cent. cheaper.

Individuals are under a mistake when they suppose that labour is cheaper in the northern states than with us. The work in the manufactories is performed by men, women and girls and boys. The men receive the average wages of a dollar per day. The girls and women from two to four dollars per week, and the boys and girls from eight to twelve years of age, 25 cents per day. This is far above the average price of labour in this state.

How long will the people of Georgia be blind to their own interest? Millions of money are now invested in plantations and hands for growing cotton which instead of being a source of profit is a tax on the owner; and yet we content ourselves with wriggling along in the old way, exhausting our spirits in unavailing complaints against the Tariff, every day growing poorer, when the road to prosperity and wealth lies plain and direct before us!

For the article of cotton bagging alone it is estimated that $250,000 are annually drained from the state. Now, even were this one item, out of many others, saved, what a difference would it not make in the pecuniary transactions of the whole community? And yet who can doubt but that this article could be manufactured

among ourselves, from cotton, at a saving of one-third of what we are now paying for hemp bagging.

(c) Olmsted, F. L. *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* (New York, 1859), 542-544. Observations in Georgia, 1855.

The greater part of Georgia is abundantly provided with running water, frequently affording excellent milling power. The mineral wealth of the state is said, by geologists, to be very great, but is, at present, almost entirely undeveloped, except in gold, which is somewhat extensively mined, without much profit. More attention has been given to manufacturing—thus far, with but indifferent success; but I cannot doubt, that, if the same judgment, skill and close scrutiny of details, were given to cotton manufacturing, that is now evidently applied to the management of rail-roads in Georgia, it would be well rewarded. The cost of the raw material must be from ten to twenty per cent. less than in Massachusetts, yet I saw Lowell cottons, both fine and coarse, for sale, almost under the roof of Georgia factories. Cotton goods manufactured in Georgia are sent to New York for sale, and are there sold by New York jobbers to Georgia retailers, who re-transport them to the vicinity in which the cotton was grown, spun, and wove, to be sold, by the yard or piece, to the planter. I saw the goods, with the mill marks, and was informed that this was the case, by a Georgia merchant.

Land-rent, water-power, timber, fuel, and raw material for cotton manufacturing, are all much cheaper in Georgia than in New England. The only other item of importance, in estimating the cost of manufacturing, must be the cost of labor, which includes, of course, the efficiency of the laborers. By the census it appears that the average wages of the female operatives in the

Georgia cotton factories was, in 1850, $7.39 a month; in Massachusetts, $14.57 a month.

Negroes were worth $180 a year, and found in clothes, food and medical attendance, by the hirer, to work on railroads, when I was in Georgia. The same year, a Georgia planter, being hard pressed, sent to New York, for Irish laborers to work on his plantations–hiring them, probably, at $10 a month, and found in food only, losing their own time when ill–a very significant fact. New England factory girls have been induced to go to Georgia to work in newly-established cotton factories, by the offer of high wages, but have found their position so unpleasant–owing to the general degradation of the laboring class–as very soon to be forced to return.

A correspondent of the Charleston *News,* writing from Sparta, Georgia, July, 1855, says:

"A large cotton factory has been in operation here about three years, but is now about being closed, and to-day will probably terminate its existence. It unpleasantly reminded us of a fate of a similar enterprise which so signally failed, after a brief career, in our own city. Why is it so? It would seem to be reasonable at least that, surrounded with the raw material, unencumbered with the cost of transportation to Northern cities, Southern manufactories should not only compete, but successfully maintain a higher position than those so far removed from the cotton growing region. But so it is, with a few exceptions, our own Graniteville being among them. . ."

XXII. PUBLIC REGULATION OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

1. ASSIZE OF BREAD

(a) Notice from the Charleston (S.C.) *City Gazette*, March 4, 1825.

Assize of Bread, From Monday the 28 [in]st, to Monday the 7th March, inclusive.

The average price of Superfine Flour being Six Dollars per barrel, of 196 lbs. nett weight, the Loaves must weigh as follows, viz.:

WHITE BREAD

7d Loaf to Weigh . .	3 lb.	0 oz.
3½d	1 lb.	8 oz.
2½d	0 lb.	13¾ oz.
1d	0 lb.	6¾ oz.

WHEATEN BREAD

7d Loaf to Weigh . .	3 lb.	5 oz.
3½d	1 lb.	10½ oz.
2½d	0 lb.	15 oz.
1d	0 lb.	7½ oz.

HOUSEHOLD BREAD

7d Loaf to Weigh . .	3 lb.	08 oz.
3½d	1 lb.	12 oz.
2½d	1 lb.	00 oz.
1d	0 lb.	08 oz.

WM. ROACH, Clerk of Council.

(b) Notice from the Charleston *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 14, 1786.

TO THE PUBLIC. This is to give notice that we, the Bakers of this City unanimously shall stop baking after

this day the 13th. inst., at which time the late ordinance of the City Council is to take place; as we find that we cannot in justice to the support of our trade or families, comply therewith. Since the City Council have had the regulating the assize of bread, instead of granting us a redress of grievances complained of in our former petitions, they have repealed all former acts, and to bake up to the present assize is not in our power, for they require a greater quantity of baked bread out of a hundred of flour than it will really make, without allowing anything for the support of ourselves and families .

Charleston, Nov. 13, 1786.

(c) Letter from a citizen to the editor of the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle,* Aug. 27, 1808.

A word of two on the score of bread may not come amiss at this moment, when a few slick bakers in opposition to the city ordinance, have declined their business, though indulged far beyond the Assize of Charleston and Savannah. To be candid it appears these gentlemen have had a good chance for a long time back to make their fortunes at the expense of the citizens, as we now see by their rising into the air so fast with well baked bricks. Let them enjoy the fruits of their honest industry, but let the citizens take care of themselves.

The City Council, if they wish to deserve well of the community, have it now in their power to establish a public baking shop and supply every mouth with good and wholesome bread, and of greater weight than they have prescribed by their late ordinance.

A case similar to this occurred some time ago in New York; the corporation opposed the avaricious and light weight making bakers, established public ovens,

brought the fancy bakers to cry peccavi and solicit licence at last, to bake and sell agreeably to law.

Council of Augusta, go ye and do the like.

AVORDUPOISE

2. CITY MARKET REGULATIONS

Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle,* Nov. 25, 1818.

AN ORDINANCE TO REGULATE THE PUBLIC MARKET IN THE CITY OF AUG[USTA]

SECT. 4. Be it further ordained, that no person or persons shall be allowed to contract for, sell, buy or otherwise dispose of, outside of the market, any butter, eggs, or meats subject to tax, and any person so offending on due proof thereof, before the Mayor or any member of Council, shall forfeit and pay a sum double the value of the butter or eggs, or double the tax due on said meats.

SECT. 5. And be it further ordained, that no person or persons shall be allowed to contract for or buy or cause to be bought or contracted for, any quantity of provision or other articles usually vended in Market hours, in such quantity as to prevent others from having an equal share of the same, or as much thereof as the clerk of the Market may suppose the several applying for the same entitled to according to the supposed number of their family; any person so offending shall pay a fine not exceeding fifty dollars.

SECT. 6. And be it further ordained that no person shall during market hours, buy, sell, or otherwise contract for any article of provision or other produce usually vended in Market for the purpose of retailing or making a profit thereon under the penalty of being fined not exceeding fifty dollars.

3. REGULATION OF MILL TOLL

Act of the Georgia General Assembly, Jan. 26, 1786, printed in Marbury and Crawford's *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia to 1800*, 363.

AN ACT TO REGULATE THE TOLL TO BE TAKEN AT MILLS

1. Be It Enacted by the Representatives of the freemen of the state of Georgia in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, That all owners or occupiers of mills shall well and sufficiently grind, or cause to be well and sufficiently ground, all clean and dry grain brought to their mills, and in due turn (as far as five bushels) as the same may be brought, and may take for toll one eighth part thereof and no more. And every owner or occupier of a mill who shall not well and sufficiently grind, or cause to be well and sufficiently ground, as aforesaid, (unless in times of drought, or other sufficient cause, of which the justice may judge) or not in due turn or take or exact more toll, shall for every such offence, on proof thereof, by one or more credible witness, forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding fifteen shillings, to the party injured, recoverable with costs, before a justice of the peace, of the county where such offence shall be committed. Provided always, That every owner or occupier of a mill, may grind his, or her own grain at any time.
Augusta, January 26, 1786.

XXIII. ARTISANS AND TOWN LABOR

1. LABOR DEMAND

(a) News letter from Louisville, Ky., Oct. 31, 1827, from the *Spirit of Seventy Six* (Frankfort), Nov. 15, 1827.

THE CANAL. This important work at our place is still progressing towards its completion as well as could reasonably be anticipated from its commencement, although the undertakers had contemplated that it would have been finished at an earlier period. The only difficulty that had been experienced has been in a want of labourers, which are not to be procured in this section of the country, even at an advance of wages, full fifty per cent above what is given on similar works in other parts of the union; the earth excavation is nearly completed; much of the rock has also been excavated, and the walls of the immense guard lock are now raised upwards of 30 feet high, in solid mason work, which for strength and beauty are equal to any other similar work; no reason now exists why the canal will not be finished within the next year.

(b) Advertisement from the Charleston (S.C.) *City Gazette,* March 1, 1826.

WEAVERS WANTED. A Few Good Weavers, accustomed to the Manufacturing of Cotton, Goods—to such liberal wages and steady employment will be given on producing certificates of character, &c. Apply at No. 384 King Street.

(c) Advertisement from the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer,* June 21, 1811.

Three or four active young White Men to drive carts

will meet with liberal encouragement, from Lupton and Doing Undertakers for Paving.

(d) Advertisement from the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle,* Aug. 1, 1818.

Wanted to hire, Eight or ten white or black men for the purpose of cutting wood. They will be either engaged by the cord or month; liberal wages will be given. Apply to George W. Evans.

(e) Advertisement from the Winchester (Va.) *Gazette,* Jan. 30, 1799.

The subscriber, at his Iron Works, in Botetourt County, on Dunlap's Creek, about 18 miles below the Sweet Springs, wants to hire a number of Negroes. He will give 100 dollars per year for strong Negro Men of good character. Laboring free men may find employment and good wages with him.

EDWARD RUMSAY.

(f) An advertisement in a southern newspaper printed in E. S. Abdy's *Journal of a Residence in the United States* (London, 1835), vol. ii, 109.

Five Hundred Laborers Wanted. We will employ the above number of laborers to work on the Muscle Shoals Canal &c. at the rates of fifteen dollars per month, for twenty-six working days, or we will employ negroes by the year, or for a less time, as may suit the convenience of planters. We will also be responsible to slave holders who hire their negroes to us, for any injury or damage that may hereafter happen in the progress of blasting rock or of caving in of banks. For information in regard to the health of the men, the fare &c. we would refer &c HENRY and KIBB.
May 24th, 1833.

(g) Advertisement from the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle,* March 2, 1811.

APPRENTICES WANTED. The subscriber carrying on the blacksmith's business in all its branches on Reynold

street, near Calffrey and Bustin's hotel, would willingly receive three negro fellows as apprentices. The owners may confidently rely that every necessary attention will be given to their instruction. J. J. PERIN.

(h) Advertisement from the Tennessee *Gazette & Mero District Advertiser* (Nashville), Oct. 24, 1804.

Wanted Immediately, as an apprentice to the blacksmith's business, a smart, active boy, of from 12 to 15 years of age, who can come well recommended. A black boy of this description, will be taken. Wanted also, a Journeyman who understands his business, and has good recommendations for honesty, industry and sobriety–A black man would not be rejected.

ELLIS MADDOX, Nashville.

(i) Advertisement from the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle,* Dec. 6, 1800. A town advertises for artisans.

Wanted, a Taylor and Shoemaker, good workmen; men who will be faithful and punctual to their customers; and who will be sober and industrious, may make eligible settlements in or near this place, and always have employments for their respective trades for two or three hands. Carpenters are also much wanted.

WAYNESBORO.

(j) News item from Niles's *Register,* Aug. 4, 1838 (vol. liv, 353), reprinted from the New Orleans *Bulletin,* describing the dullness of the summer season.

New Orleans, July 22. We may now be said to be on our summer establishment. Things have settled down into the dullness and monotony of the sickly season. Transactions are light and confined principally to the retail trade. Indeed business of all kinds is very much curtailed. The undertaker, and even the sexton has less to do than usual. The most industrious portion of the community are the laborers in the employment

of the second municipality, who make rapid progress in the pavement of our streets, apparently regardless of the hot sun that burns upon them from morning to night. The fidelity with which this hardy class of citizens stick to their work, during all seasons is admirable, and might be held up as an example to many of higher pretensions, who reap during harvest time, but when pain, sickness and death stalk over the field, are found among the missing. We have noticed also that a great deal of activity prevails among the mechanics. A great number of houses is going up in different parts of the city, which keeps a multitude of carpenters, bricklayers, &c. &c. employed. On the levee of course, a manifest change has taken place. The hum of business is silenced. The squadron of drays that formerly dashed along so furiously, has dwindled down to a few teams. The steam boat wharves are nearly empty. A few black chimneys rise solitary from the water's edge, furlongs apart, where a month ago, they stood close and thick as the brick chimnies along our streets. The quantity of shipping is also rapidly diminishing, and many days will not elapse, ere our fleet of steam and canvass will be reduced to some dozen or twenty vessels, scattered along the margin of the stream for a distance of several miles.

2. ARTISANS' ESTABLISHMENTS

(a) William and Mary College *Quarterly*, vol. xii, 157, reprinting an advertisement from the Virginia *Gazette*, Aug. 8, 1751.

David and William Geddy, Smiths in Williamsburg, near the Church, having all Manner of Utensils requisite, carry on the Gun Smith's, Cutler's, and Founder's Trade, at whose Shop may be had the following work, viz.: Gun Work, such as Guns and Pistols' Stocks, plain or neatly varnish'd, Locks and Mount-

ings, Barrels blued, bored, and rifled; Founder's Work, and Harness Buckles, Coach Knobs, Hinges, Squares, Nails and Bullions, curious Brass Fenders and Fire Dogs, House Bells of all Sizes, Dials calculated to any Latitude; Cutler's Work, as Razors, Lancets, Shears, and Surgeon's Instruments ground, cleaned and glazed as well as when first made, Sword Blades polished, blued and gilt in the Neatest Manner, Scabbards for Swords, Needles and Sights for Surveyors Compasses, Rupture Bands of different Sorts, particularly a Sort which gives admirable Ease in all kinds of Ruptures. Likewise at the said Sop Shop may be had a Vermifuge, Price 3s, 6d per Bottle, which safely and effectually destroys all kinds of Worms in Horses, the most inveterate Pole-evils and Fistulas cured, and all diseases incident to Horses, at their said Shop.

(b) Advertisement from the Charleston (S.C.) *Evening Gazette,* Aug. 1, 1785.

Thomas Lamb (No. 67) Queen Street, Millwright, Engineer and Joiner, Begs leave to inform the Public, that he is lately arrived in this city from Newcastle upon Tyne, England, where he carried on the above branches for the space of twenty-three years, to the satisfaction of his employers; and he flatters himself that by a long and thorough knowledge of his business, he will give ample proofs of his abilities to any gentlemen that may please to employ him. He likewise purposes carrying on the House Carpenter's branch, as he has been employed in that line since his arrival in this place, by Messrs. Winthrop, Todd & Co., for whom he has erected a crane that will lift goods of the weight of two tons, by only one man.

He will also undertake to erect water corn mills to grind flour or any other grain; also boulting mills for

boulting the flour of all its different sorts in the best manner, as they have done it in London either by wind or water.

Also barley mills for making French barley for the pot.

Mustard mills either by water or horse.

Tobacco mills to cut any different cut, as they have in London.

Snuff mills of different sorts, to be drove by water or horse.

Iron Forge mills for plating of iron with bars.

Slitting mills for slitting rod-iron, likewise for rolling iron hoops for casks.

Tilt mills for drawing of steel, and plating of spades and shovels.

He will also undertake to erect mills for boring of cannon out of the solid, from 1 pounder to 36 pounder, or rimming old cannon and making them as new.

Calendar Bellows, for the main blast.

A small tupelo to melt small quantities of metal, drove by horse or from the main blast.

Mills for grinding paints of all sorts, from the first original both in water and in oil, till fit for the brush.

Mills for grinding Indian Corn, in a different manner than any in this state, one of which is at present standing in my house, which is bespoke. Any gentleman may see it through the course of this week.

Will also undertake to erect a crane to lift by one man's hand two tons from a vessel, and lay it on a wharf at ease. Likewise erect a spile engine, to drive spiles at the wharves, as they have in London.

Also saw mills, with a number of saws, either by water, wind or horse.

(c) Advertisement from the *Gazette of the State of South Carolina* (Charleston), March 7, 1785.

WILLIAM INGLESBY, Taylor from London, takes this method of returning thanks to the Public in general, and his friends in particular, for the kind encouragement he has received from them since his arrival; at the same time takes the liberty of informing them, that in a few days he is going to remove to No. 3 Tradd street, and hopes by his attention, assiduity, and a proper execution of their orders, to merit a continuance of that favor that has been so liberally bestowed–And would likewise acquaint those Gentlemen whose orders he has been under the disagreeable necessity of declining, from not being able to perform them in time, that he has got an addition of several excellent workmen, to those he before had, which will enable him to fulfil his engagements with exactness and punctuality–and as his experience in his profession has been acquired in the most fashionable line in London, as well as having followed it some considerable time in Paris, doubts not, but that those who indulge him with their orders, will find them executed with that elegance and taste, that every one who loves genteel and becoming dress wishes. As he rather prefers working for ready money, will make a handsome allowance to those who favour him with their commands.

(d) Advertisement from the Savannah (Ga.) *Republican,* Jan. 17, 1804.

James Prescott, Painter and Glazier, thanks his patrons for past patronage and says he has now engaged a number of accomplished workmen in the various branches of the profession. When desired one or two hands can be furnished for work in the country.

3. PLEAS FOR THE SUPPORT OF LOCAL MECHANICS

(a) Letter signed "Charleston" from the Charleston (S.C.) *City Gazette*, March 4, 1828.

It is to us a matter of astonishment, that such an apathy should pervade in our community against the encouragement of mechanics generally. Persons frequently send to the North for what they could get cheaper at home, and better. Were they for a moment to reflect, they would find that by supporting our own mechanics, they would keep at home that money which on the other hand, "enriches our neighbors, but makes us poor indeed." Let those who are in the habit of doing this reflect for a moment, and we are persuaded our remarks will not be thrown away.

(b) Editorial from the Atlanta (Ga.) *Daily Intelligencer*, Oct. 8, 1858.

OUR MECHANICS. Atlanta probably more than any other city of our State, is dependant upon her mechanical population for everything that constitutes wealth and power. Whilst other towns and villages with only a few mechanics, could not flourish without them, our city has for its chief basis, this class of worthy and useful citizens. Nothing is so indicative of prosperity in a town than the fact that there is employment sufficient to support her mechanics. Take away those in our midst who compose this useful class of our population, and our city would soon dwindle into insignificance and decay. We should lose the very bone and sinew, the main source of our power and strength. It is impossible to appreciate too highly, then, the importance to any community of this element. Wealth is created by their handwork, and hundreds and probably thousands supported alone by the means growing out of the arts which they practice. The influence in this point of

view, which the foundries, workshops and Rolling Mills of Atlanta have upon the advancement of the City of Atlanta, can't yet be estimated. The future alone will develop it, when our city shall be fiilled up with a population of twenty, thirty or forty thousand in number. Then will the conviction force itself irresistably on every mind, that to the mechanics arts will our growth be chiefly indebted.

Let our citizens feel the truth of this statement now, and act as they should in relationship to the mechanics of Atlanta. Let them foster, encourage and support those worthy members of our community who are engaged in these avocations. Heretofore, there has been a habit among many of our people of sending off to some other place, to some Northern town, or to some smaller other Southern town for articles which they could easily obtain at home. We know this to be the fact of several merchants in Atlanta, as well as others. Such a policy, let us tell them, is not only directly opposed to the interests of the City, but to their own interests, and the man who upon reflection will not abandon such a course, doesn't deserve to receive the patronage of his fellow-citizens. If you will build up a substantial community, you will gradually increase in wealth and thus be better able to indulge in all comforts and luxuries, support and sustain your domestic manufacturers and mechanics. Whatever you can buy from your neighbor in your own town, don't send off somewhere else for it because you can obtain it a fraction cheaper. What will be gained in that way, will be lost ten fold in the long run. The merchant who doesn't sustain the home mechanic should not receive in turn for his goods the hard earned money of the mechanical population. . .

We can boast of as an intelligent and as excellent mechanics in Atlanta as can be produced in any other City elsewhere. We might mention names that occur to us as we write, but it might be invidious to single out a few from the great number. The fact is incapable of contradiction. Such men ought only to be supported.

There are other things we might say in reference to our mechanical population, their wants and what should be done to supply them, but shall preserve them for another article. We have simply thrown out those practical home truths that our readers may weigh them as they deserve.

4. ASSOCIATION OF WHITE AND NEGRO LABOR

(a) A letter to the editor of the *Federal Union* (Milledgeville, Ga.), March 18, 1836.

Crawford County, March 15th, 1836.

Dear Sir– From what we see going on here, there are others besides me, who think the Flint River navigable for Steam-Boats. Scarcely had the small appropriation of ten thousand dollars passed into a law, before that enterprizing citizen of Macon, Mr. Butts, applied to me for a yard and timber, to build at my Ferry. I consented, his hands began in part to arrive at the spot at christmas. He has now there ten or fifteen white men, mechanics, and some twenty or more negroes, working well. As a proof, on Saturday they launched a fine boat built for this river, capable to carry two tow-boats. The scene to us was novel and sublime.

He has another Steam-Boat framed and preparing to receive the plank, and to all appearance, timber sufficient to build three or four tow-boats. This has all been done since the first of January, under the immediate direction of Captain Fish, who seems to conduct the

business as becomes a master-workman. Besides this, they have built a small town, as cabbins to live in, shops, etc. and small craft, such as flats to convey timber up and down the river.

The Steam-Boat now on the stocks is intended for the Chattahoochee river, and also a tow-boat well calculated to pass the shoals in low water. Respectfully,

H. CROWELL.

N.B. The Engines and Boilers are on the spot, and the engineers putting them up: the boat will be ready to run in four weeks.

(b) Buckingham, J. S. *Slave States of America* (London [1842]), vol. ii, 112, discussing labor in the cotton mills at Athens, Ga., in 1839.

. . . There is no difficulty among them on account of colour, the white girls working in the same room and at the same loom with the black girls; and boys of each color, as well as men and women, working together without apparent repugnance or objection. . . The negroes here are found to be quite as easily taught to perform all the required duties of spinners and weavers as the whites, and are just as tractable when taught; but their labour is dearer than that of the whites, for whilst the free boys and girls employed receive about 7.00 dollars per month, out of which they find themselves, the slaves are paid the same wages (which is handed over to their owners) and the mill-owner has to feed them all in addition; so that the free labor is cheaper to him than the slave; and the hope expressed by the proprietor to me was, that the progressive increase of white population by immigration, would enable him to employ wholly their free labor, which, to him would be more advantageous.

(c) Georgia *Courier* (Augusta), April 24, 1828. Slave operatives in a cotton mill.

MANUFACTURES IN THE SOUTH. The capacity of the Southern States for manufacturing their great staple, is no longer a matter of speculation. Practical experiment has demonstrated, not only their capacity to manufacture, but to manufacture their own staple at a cheaper rate than any part of the Union! Last February a year, I accompanied a most intelligent planter from Pittsburgh to Nashville, a Mr. Nightingale, formerly of R. Island. He was then taking with him a "foreman" from Providence, Rhode Island, to superintend his cotton factory.– The factory is located in Maury county, Tennessee. The machinery is propelled by a never failing, and never freezing stream. The entire labour is performed by slaves. Mr. Nightingale now supplies a large portion of Tennessee and North Alabama with coarse cotton cloths.

(d) Editorial from the *Southern Banner* (Athens, Ga.), March 3, 1859.

CHEAP LABOR. One of the arguments, or to speak more properly, one of the assertions used in favor of opening the African Slave trade is, says the *Corner Stone,*[7] that it would give us cheap labor. If there were no other reason for opposition to it we should oppose it on that ground. We are opposed to cheap labor. We want to see labor high. In other words we want to see labor commanding a fair proportion of its products. No country can be really prosperous and happy where it is otherwise. There may be a few bloated capitalists who may absorb the products of labor, but the masses must be poor and wretched. In every country the honest faithful laborer ought to be able to supply himself and family by his labor, not only with the necessaries, but the comforts of life. This cannot be unless

[7] A radical newspaper published in Columbus, Ga. – ED.

labor is as compared with other things relatively high. In other words, labor ought to be the chief ingredient in the price of every production.

Why was it that a few years ago Ireland was in such a wretched condition, her people deserting the country by hundreds of thousands, and those that remained starving? Because labor was cheap. Why is it that immigration has ceased and the people who are there more prosperous, and food to eat and clothes to wear? Because labor has risen in value.

Cheap labor is a curse to any country. We wish it was twice as high in this country as it is.

(e) Advertisement in the *Moniteur de la Louisiane* (New Orleans), Oct. 9, 1809, by a white blacksmith seeking plantation employment for himself and a slave blacksmith owned by him.

Aux Habitans. Un Ouvrier blanc, forgeron de son métier, lequel possède un Nègre esclave, également forgeron (& n'a pas d'autre suite) demande de l'emploi sur une habitation qui aurait une forge montée, ou dont le proprietaire voudrait en monter une. S'addresser en ville a MR. A. BONAMY.
6 Octobre.

[Translation of the above.]

To Planters. A white workman, blacksmith by trade, who owns a negro slave also a blacksmith (and has no other dependents) wants employment upon a plantation where a smithy is already established or whose owner wishes to establish one. Address in the city [New Orleans]. MR. A. BONAMY.
October 6.

(f) News item from the Louisiana *Gazette* (New Orleans), March 9, 1819.

Fifty-seven brick makers, layers, and carpenters, originally from New England, have arrived at Baton Rouge, under the charge of Mr. Joel Hill, for the

works about to be constructed at the above named place; all of whom we understand have been employed by Capt. R. D. Richardson of the Ordnance.

5. JEALOUSY OF WHITE ARTISANS TOWARD NEGRO COMPETITION

(a) An open letter from a citizen printed in the *Southern Banner* (Athens, Ga.), Jan. 13, 1838.

TO THE CONTRACTORS FOR MASON'S AND CARPENTER'S WORK ATHENS

Gentlemen: I desire your candid consideration of the views I shall here express. I ask no reply to them except at your own volition. I am aware that most of you have too strong antipathy to encourage the masonry and carpentry trades of your poor white brothers, that your predilections for giving employment in your line of business to ebony workers have either so cheapened the white man's labor, or expatriated hence with but a few solitary exceptions, all the white masons and carpenters of this town.

The white man is the only real, legal, moral and civil proprietor of this country and state. The right of his proprietorship reaches from the date of the studies of those white men, Copernicus and Gallileo, who indicated from the seclusion of their closets the sphericity of the earth: which sphericity hinted to another white man, Columbus, the possibility by a westerly course of sailing, of finding land. Hence by white man alone was this continent discovered; by the prowess of white men alone (though not always properly or humanely exercised), were the fierce and active Indians driven occidentally: and if swarms and hordes of infuriated red men pour down now from the Northwest, like the wintry blast thereof, the white men alone, aye, those to whom you decline to give money for bread and clothes,

for their famishing families, in the logic matter of withholding work from them, or employing negroes, in the sequel, to cheapen their wages to a rate that amounts to a moral and physical impossibility for them either to live here and support their families–would bare their breasts to the keen and whizzing shafts of the savage crusaders–defending negroes too in the bargain, for if left to themselves without our aid, the Indians would or can sweep the negroes hence, "as dew drops are shaken from the lion's mane."

The right, then, gentlemen, you will no doubt candidly admit, of the white man to employment in preference to negroes, who *must* defer to us since they live well enough on plantations, cannot be considered impeachable by contractors. It is a right more virtual and indisputable than that of agrarianism. As masters of the polls in a majority, carrying all before them, I am surprised the poor do not elect faithful members to the Legislature, who will make it penal to prefer negro mechanic labor to white men's. But of the premises as I have now laid them down, you will candidly judge for yourselves, and draw a conclusion with me, that white bricklayers and house joiners must henceforward have ample work and remuneration; and yourselves and other contractors will set the example, and pursue it for the future without deviation. Your respectfully

J. J. FLOURNOY.

(b) Lyell, Charles. *A Second Visit to the United States* (New York, 1849), vol. ii, 78-82.

. . . To inquire into the condition of the negroes, and the evils arising out of the relation of master and slave, was not the object of my visit; but when I afterward related to an abolitionist in Massachusetts, how little actual suffering had obtruded itself on my notice,

he told me that great pains must have been taken by the planters to conceal from me the true state of things, while they had taken care to propitiate me by hospitable attentions. I was glad, however, to find my experience borne out by that of a Scotch weaver, William Thomson, of Stonehaven, who traveled in the years 1841-2 for his health in the southern states. He supported himself as he went along by manual labor, and lived on intimate terms with persons of a different class of society from those with whom I had most intercourse. On his return home he published a small book, in which he says, "It will appear, to those who knew my opinions on slavery before I visited America, that, like most others who can judge dispassionately, I have changed my opinion considerably." He gives a detailed account of his adventures in the regions which I traversed in Alabama, Georgia, and many other states, and concludes by observing, "After witnessing negro slavery in mostly all the slaveholding states, having lived for weeks in cotton plantations, observing closely the actual condition of the negroes, I can assert, without fear of contradiction from any man who has any knowledge of the subject, that I have never witnessed one-fifth of the real suffering that I have seen in manufacturing establishments in Great Britain." In reference to another topic, he affirms "that the members of the same family of negroes are not so much scattered as are those of working men in Scotland, whose necessities compel them to separate at an age when the American slave is running about gathering health and strength."[8]

I am aware that there is some danger, when one hears the philanthropist declaiming in terms of gross exaggeration on the horrors of slavery and the crimes of the

[8] *Tradesman's Travels in the United States, etc., in the years 1840-42*, p. 182.

planters, of being tempted by a spirit of contradiction, or rather by a love of justice, to counteract misrepresentation, by taking too favorable a view of the condition and prospects of the negroes. But there is another reason, also, which causes the traveler in the south to moderate his enthusiasm for emancipation. He is forced continually to think of the responsibility which would be incurred, if several millions of human beings were hastily set aside, like so many machines, by withdrawing from them suddenly the protection afforded by their present monopoly of labor. In the opening of the market freely to white competitors, before the race is more improved, consists their danger.

Yet, on taking a near view of the slave question, we are often thrown into opposite states of mind and feeling, according as the interests of the white or negro race happen, for the moment, to claim our sympathy. . .

Were it not for impediments which white competition and political ascendency threaten to throw in the way of negro progress, the grand experiment might be fairly tried, of civilizing several millions of blacks, not by philanthropists, but by a steadier and surer agency– the involuntary efforts of several millions of whites. In spite of prejudice and fear, and in defiance of stringent laws enacted against education, three millions of a more enlightened and progressive race are brought into contact with an equal number of laborers lately in a savage state, and taken from a continent where the natives have proved themselves, for many thousand years, to be singularly unprogressive. Already their task-masters have taught them to speak, with more or less accuracy, one of the noblest of languages, to shake off many old superstitions, to acquire higher ideas of morality, and habits of neatness and cleanliness, and have converted thou-

sands of them to Christianity. Many they have emancipated, and the rest are gradually approaching to the condition of the ancient serfs of Europe half a century or more before their bondage died out.

All this has been done at an enormous sacrifice of time and money; an expense, indeed, which all the governments of Europe and all the Christian missionaries, whether Romanist or Protestant, could never have effected in five centuries. Even in the few states which I have already visited since I crossed the Potomac, several hundred thousand whites of all ages, among whom the children are playing by no means the least effective part, are devoting themselves with greater or less activity to these involuntary educational exertions.

It had previously been imagined that an impassable gulf separated the two races; but now it is proved that more than half that space can, in a few generations, be successfully passed over, and the humble negro of the coast of Guinea has shown himself to be one of the most imitative and improvable of human beings. Yet the experiment may still be defeated, not so much by the fanaticism of abolitionists, or the prejudices of those slave-owners who are called perpetualists, who maintain that slavery should be permanent, and that it is a blessing in itself to the negro, but by the jealousy of an unscrupulous democracy invested with political power. Of the imminent nature of this peril, I was never fully aware, until I was startled by the publication of an act passed by the Legislature of Georgia during my visit to that state, December 27th, 1845. The following is the preamble and one of the clauses:

"An act to prohibit colored mechanics and masons, being slaves, or free persons of color, being mechanics

or masons, from making contracts for the erection of buildings, or for the repair of buildings, and declaring the white person or persons directly or indirectly contracting with or employing them, as well as the master, employer, manager, or agent for said slave, or guardian for said free person of color, authorizing or permitting the same, guilty of a misdemeanor," and prescribing punishment for the violation of this act.

"SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That from and after the 1st day of February next, each and every white person who shall hereafter contract or bargain with any slave, mechanic, or mason, or free person of color, being a mechanic or mason, shall be liable to be indicted for a misdemeanor; and, on conviction, to be fined, at the discretion of the Court, not exceeding two hundred dollars."

Then follows another clause imposing the like penalties on the owners of slaves, or guardians of free persons of color, who authorize the contracts prohibited by this statute.

I may first observe, in regard to this disgraceful law, which was only carried by a small majority in the Georgian Legislature, that it proves that not a few of the negro race have got on so well in the world in reputation and fortune, and in skill in certain arts, that it was worth while to legislate against them in order to keep them down, and prevent them from entering into successful rivalry with the whites. It confirms, therefore, most fully the impression which all I saw in Georgia had left on my mind, that the blacks are steadily rising in social importance in spite of slavery or, to speak more correctly, by aid of that institution, assum-

ing, as it does, in proportion as the whites become civilized, a more and more mitigated form. In the next place I shall endeavor to explain to the English reader the real meaning of so extraordinary a decree. Mr. R. H. Wilde, formerly senator for Georgia, told me that he once knew a colored freeman who had been brought up as a saddler, and was a good workman. To his surprise he found him one day at Saratoga, in the State of New York, acting as servant at an hotel.

"Could you not get higher wages," he inquired, "as a saddler?" "Yes," answered he; "but no sooner was I engaged by a 'boss,' than all the other workmen quitted." They did so, not because he was a slave, for he had long been emancipated, but because he was a negro. It is evident, therefore, that it requires in Georgia the force of a positive statute to deprive the negro, whether he be a freeman or slave, of those advantages from which, in a free state like New York, he is excluded, without any legislative interference.

I have heard apologists in the north endeavoring to account for the degraded position which the negroes hold, socially and politically, in the free states, by saying they belong to a race which is kept in a state of slavery in the south. But, if they really desired to accelerate emancipation, they would begin by setting an example to the southern states, and treating the black race with more respect and more on a footing of equality. I once heard some Irish workmen complain in New York, "that the niggers shut them out from all the easiest ways of getting a livelihood;" and many white mechanics, who had emigrated from the north to the slave states, declared to me that every opening in their trades was closed to them, because black artisans were employed by their owners in preference. Hence,

they are now using in Georgia the power given to them by an exclusive franchise, to pass disabling statutes against the blacks, to prevent them from engaging in certain kinds of work. In several states, Virginia among others, I heard of strikes, where the white workmen bound themselves not to return to their employment until the master had discharged all his colored people. Such combinations will, no doubt, forward the substitution of white for negro labor, and may hasten the era of general emancipation. But if this measure be prematurely adopted, the negroes are a doomed race, and already their situation is most critical. I found a deep conviction prevailing in the minds of experienced slave-owners, of the injury which threatened them; and, more than once, in Kentucky and elsewhere, in answer to my suggestions, that the time for introducing free labor had come, they said, "I think so; we must get rid of the negroes. . . ."

(c) Petition signed by about two hundred mechanics and laborers of Atlanta, Ga., presented to the city council, March 5, 1858, printed in T. H. Martin's *Atlanta and her Builders* (s.l., 1902), vol. i, 139.

We, the undersigned, would respectfully represent to your honorable body that there exists in the city of Atlanta a number of men who, in the opinion of your memorialists are of no benefit to the city. We refer to negro mechanics whose masters reside in other places, and who pay nothing toward the support of the city government, and whose negro mechanics can afford to underbid the regular resident citizen mechanics of your city to their great injury, and without benefit to the city in any way. We most respectfully request your honorable body to take the matter in hand, and by your action in the premises afford such protection to the resident mechanics of your city as your honorable body may

deem meet in the premises, and in duty bound your petitioners will ever pray.

(d) Extract from a petition of sundry citizens of Atlanta, Ga., presented to the city council, presumably in 1859, printed in T. H. Martin's *Atlanta and her Builders,* vol. i, 145.

We feel aggrieved, as Southern citizens, that your honorable body tolerates a negro dentist (Roderick Badger) in our midst, and in justice to ourselves and the community, it ought to be abated. We the residents of Atlanta appeal to you for justice.

(e) Extract from an ordinance adopted by the city council of Atlanta, Ga., in 1859, printed in T. H. Martin's *Atlanta and her Builders,* vol. i, 145.

All free persons of color coming within the limits of Atlanta to live shall, within ten days of their arrival, pay to the clerk of the council $200, and in case of failure to do so, shall be arrested by the marshal or other police officer, who shall put him or her in the guard house for the term of five days, during which time the marshal shall advertise in at least one public city gazette that such person will be hired out at public outcry at the city hall, to the person who will take such free person of color for the shortest time for said sum.

6. MECHANICS' ASSOCIATIONS

(a) Act of the Georgia General Assembly, approved Dec. 16, 1793, from H. Marbury and W. H. Crawford's *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia* (Savannah, 1802), 145, 146.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE SAVANNAH ASSOCIATION OF MECHANICS

Whereas William Lewden, president, David Moses Vollaton, vice-president, John Peter Lang, secretary, Balthazer Shaffer, Thomas Palmer, John Herb, George Farries, Simon Connor, John Glass, William Henry Spencer, Joseph Roberts, Paul H. Wilkins, John

Eppinger, Azra Plummer, Peter Miller, James Simpson, John Armour, David Gugle, Daniel Gugle, John Trever, James Shaw, Nathaniel Lewis, Michael Asper, Joseph Dunlap, Gabriel Leaver, Elisha Elon, John Cole, John Miller, James Clarke and Benjamin Bennet, have by their petition represented, that they are mechanics of different trades, residing in the city of Savannah: that they are desirous of placing their various crafts on a more social and respectable footing than heretofore, and of establishing, by their united exertions and contributions, a lasting fund for the relief and support of such of their unfortunate brethren, or their families, as are or may become objects of charity; and for those purposes have voluntarily united and formed themselves into a society, under the style and name of "The Savannah Association of Mechanics." And in order to insure and establish their said institution in a permanent and effectual manner, so that the charitable and beneficial objects thereof may be executed with success and advantage, have prayed the legislature to grant them an act of incorporation: 1. Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met, and by the authority thereof, That the several persons herein before named, and others who are or may become members of the society before mentioned, respectively, the officers and members thereof, and their successors, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be a body corporate in name and deed, by the style and denomination of "The president and vice-president of the Savannah Association of Mechanics;" and by the said name and style shall have perpetual succession of officers and members, and a common seal to use, and shall have power and authority to make,

alter, amend and change such bye-laws as may be agreed on by the members of the same; Provided such bye-laws be not repugnant to the laws or constitution of this State, or the United States, or to the laws and ordinances of the city of Savannah aforesaid: And provided also, that the society shall not consist of more than seventy-five or less than twenty members, who shall all be residents of the said city of Savannah, and citizens of the United States. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That they shall have full power and authority, under the style and name of "The president and vice-president of the Savannah Association of Mechanics," to sue for and recover all such sum or sums of money as are now or may hereafter become due the said society, by any name or style whatever, in any court of law or in any tribunal having jurisdiction thereof, and the rights and privileges of the said society, in any court or at any tribunal whatever, to defend and also to receive, take and apply such bequests or donations as may be made to and for the uses and purposes intended by the said institution; and shall be, and are hereby declared to be vested with all the powers and advantages, privileges and emoluments of an association or society of people incorporated, for the purposes and intentions of their said association. 3. And be it further enacted, That this act shall be and is hereby declared to be deemed and considered a public act, to all intents and purposes whatever.[9]

[9] In December, 1794, an incorporation in the identical terms with the above was granted to Mechanical Society of the Town of Augusta, upon the petition of William Longstreet, president, John Catlett, vice-president, Thomas Bray, secretary, Robert Creswell, treasurer, and Hugh Magee, William Dearmond, Baxter Pool, John Cook, Joseph Stiles, Angus Martin, John Stiles, Hiel Chatfield, Edward Primrose, Conrad Liverman and Isaac Wingate. – Ed.

(b) Act of the Georgia General Assembly, approved Dec. 1, 1802, from A. S. Clayton's *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia* (Augusta, 1810), 94.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE SAVANNAH HOUSE CARPENTERS

Whereas, George Robertson, George Henry, Asa Hoxey, Francis Roma, James Shaffer, William Mitchell, Thomas Ball, George Myers, Joseph Rahan, Frederick Bolinger, Philip Newton, Peter Wyly, William Mills, John Long, Christopher Hall, Robert Frazer, Edward Jones, L. de Young, John Reddmole, John Brewer, John Street, Benjamin Collier, John Gable, William Burnside, John Peter Oates, John Bowles, Alexander Wilson, William Pearson, Thomas Jones, Thomas Hardy, John H. Shaw, Joseph Stilwell, Sohn Hoxam, Nathaniel Lewis, William Mathews, John Reed, Samuel Bass, Joseph Shepherd, William Warrington, Isaac Tichener, Goodlip Hover, William Spencer, and William Burke, have by their petition represented, that they are of that class of mechanics called House Carpenters, and being desirous of placing their craft upon a more respectable and social footing than heretofore, so that the objects thereof may be essentially benefitted and improved, have prayed the Legislature to grant them an act of incorporation.

SEC. 1. Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met, and by the authority thereof, That the several persons herein before named and mentioned, and others who may become members of the said class of mechanics called House Carpenters, respectively, the officers and members thereof, and their successors, shall be and they are hereby declared to be a body corporate, in name and deed, by the style and denomination of "the Savannah House Carpenters," and by the said name and style shall have perpetual

succession of officers and members and a common seal to use and shall have power and authority to make, alter, amend, and change such bye-laws, as may be agreed on by the members of the same, Provided, such bye-laws be not repugnant to the laws and constitution of this State, or the United States.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That they shall have full power and authority under the said style and denomination, to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, in any court of law, or at any tribunal having jurisdiction thereof, and the rights and privileges of the said society, or corporated body, in any court of law, or at any tribunal whatever to defend, and shall be and are hereby declared, to be vested with all the powers and advantages, privileges and emoluments of an association or society of people incorporated, for the purposes and intentions of their said association.

SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That this act shall be and is hereby declared to be a public act, to all intents and purposes whatever.

(c) Letter to the editor of the *Southern Banner* (Athens, Ga.), May 12, 1836, and the constitution of the Athens Mechanic's Mutual Aid Association.

Mr. Editor: At the meeting of the Athens Mechanics' Mutual Aid Association, held on Friday evening, the 6th inst. the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved that for the purpose of giving information as to the objects of the Association, not only the other mechanics but to our fellow citizens generally, the editors of the Athens papers be requested to give our Constitution an insertion in their journal.

The Society deem it of importance that the two objects of the Association be understood by the community, particularly as they have learned that an impression exists in the minds of some, that it is a trades combination to regulate the prices of work. This idea they utterly repudiate. Their object is mutual improvement, and they hope through the facilities afforded by the Association to become better mechanics and more useful and intelligent citizens. Should you think proper to give the Constitution a place in your columns, you will confer a favor upon the Society.

CONSTITUTION. Of the Athens Mechanics' Mutual Aid Association.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be known and distinguished as the Athens Mechanics' Mutual Aid Association.

ARTICLE 2. For the government of this Society there shall be elected annually by ballot a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and a standing committee to consist of five members. A majority of all the members present shall be necessary for a choice. Vacancies may be filled as soon as they are known to exist, in the same manner as that prescribed for annual elections.

ARTICLE 3. The President shall preside at the meeting of the society, preserve order, regulate the debate, and decide on all questions of order, such decisions being subject to appeal.

ARTICLE 4. In the absence of the President, the Vice-President shall be the presiding officer; and in his absence a President pro tem shall be appointed.

ARTICLE 5. The Secretary shall keep a fair distinct record of transactions of the society, and at each meet-

ing shall read the proceedings of the previous meeting. He shall also keep a list of the names of the members and an account of their dues and payments. All the funds paid to the society shall be collected by the Secretary and be handed over to the Treasurer.

ARTICLE 6. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of the funds and property of the society of every description, provide a suitable place for its meetings, purchase fire-wood, light and stationery, and pay all debts contracted by order of the society. He shall render an account of his transactions once every three months and give bond and security for the faithful discharge of his duties, whenever, in the opinion of the standing committee, it may be necessary.

ARTICLE 7. It shall be the duty of the standing committee to be informed relative to the character of the persons proposed for admission and no person shall be admitted without their recommendation, unless it be by the unanimous vote of the other members. All applications for membership shall be made through the committee, and upon their recommendation any candidate may be received, provided two-thirds of the members present vote in his favor. It shall also be the duty of the standing committee to visit the members during their illness, or that of their families, or when suffering under any other misfortune: and if assistance is needed, either pecuniary or otherwise, they may immediately call a society and recommend such measures as in their judgment are necessary.

ARTICLE 8. The fee for admission shall not be less than one dollar and each member shall be required to pay fifty cents per month while he continues in the society, either of these sums being increased whenever a majority at any regular meeting shall so determine.

No person shall be received as a regular member who is not of good moral character and a practical mechanic.

ARTICLE 9. Members who shall for six months successively neglect to pay the required monthly contribution shall not be considered as any longer belonging to the society, and shall not be readmitted without paying all the arrearages. Members for immoral conduct may be expelled whenever a majority of the whole society shall so vote.

ARTICLE 10. Any member who shall invent any piece of machinery or other mechanical improvement that shall prove to be of general utility, shall on presenting it to the society, receive a token of approbation suitable to the value of the invention, to be determined by vote of the Society.

ARTICLE 11. It shall be encumbent upon all members of the Society to aid their fellow members in their various avocations, not only by friendly advice and encouragement, but by bestowing their patronage upon each other, whenever it can be done without conflicting with their individual interest.

ARTICLE 12. Among the first and most prominent objects of this Society shall be the purchase of a library adapted to the wants and wishes of the members; beginning with works relating to their several trades, and extending to others of a more exclusively literary and scientific character, as the funds of the Society may allow; to be purchased and regulated in such a manner as a majority of the members shall hereafter determine.

ARTICLE 13. The Society may at any regular meeting select a question to be discussed at the next meeting; and any member who shall refuse to give his views when called upon by the President, shall pay a fine of twenty-five cents unless excused by vote of the Society.

ARTICLE 14. Persons not mechanics may be admitted as honorary members in like manner as regular members are received, provided they shall have previously manifested friendship for the Society, by lending their aid, by donations or otherwise, in the furtherance of its objects.

ARTICLE 15. The regular meetings of the Society shall be held once in each month, on such day as may be found most convenient for the members; but in all cases one-fourth of the whole number must be present to constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business. The annual meetings shall be held on the first Friday in April in every year.

ARTICLE 16. All proposed alterations or amendments to this Constitution shall be submitted in writing at a regular meeting of the Society, and acted upon at the next regular meeting thereafter, and shall not be adopted except by a vote of a majority of all the members of the society.

7. INSTANCES OF TRADES-UNIONISM

(a) *Southern Banner* (Athens, Ga.), Nov. 19, 1836, reprinting from the Augusta *Chronicle* a report of proceedings.

AUGUSTA TYPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. At a meeting of the Journeymen Printers of Augusta, held on Saturday evening, November 5th, Mr. Sidney S. Browne was called to the chair and Mr. James M'Cafferty appointed secretary, the object of the meeting being explained by the chairman, the following resolutions were submitted by Br. J. T. Blain and unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that we form ourselves into an association under the title of The Typographical Society of Augusta, Ga., deeming it highly expedient for the benefit of this class.

Resolved, that a committee be appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws for the government of the same, and that this meeting considering the society duly formed enter into an election of officers. The meeting having appointed a committee, recommended in the above resolution, the following gentlemen were nominated and unanimously elected officers for the ensuing year. George Robertson, President, Sidney S. Browne, Vice-President, James M'Caffery, Secretary and Treasurer, Edmund McGowan, Steward. Standing Committee, J. T. Blain, T. J. Echols, and W. H. Goodman.

The election of officers having been gone through with, Mr. Echols offered the following preamble and resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the efforts of General Duff Green, of Washington City, to carry his literary society into effect in Columbia, S.C., is likely so far to succeed; and

Whereas, we conceive it our bounden duty to remonstrate with all our power against the establishment of a system as projected in Washington City, and which produced effects in opposing it, that are regretted by us all:

Be it therefore resolved, that we disapprove of General Green's intention to establish a society significantly termed the "Literary Society of South Carolina," which has been incorporated by the legislature of said state.

Resolved, that we consider it an attempt to monopolize the printing of the state aforesaid by underworking resident printers, whose conduct and deportment have always insured the respect of our class and the citizens of the community in which they live.

Resolved, that we solicit and recommend to the journeymen printers of Columbia, S.C., to form a society

and establish a scale of prices to be suited to their expenses, and that we will expect everyone who belongs to our class and who considers himself a man of principle to abide by those rates and to assist in the maintenance of the same.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this meeting that no journeyman could consistently with the principle of honor work in any office conducted in such manner.

Resolved, that we disclaim any intention of injuring Gen. Green in the opinion of the South, but his design in Washington City has led us to anticipate a similar attempt here.

On motion of Mr. J. T. Watson,

Resolved, that the proceedings of this meeting be published and that the papers throughout the south be requested to copy the same.

SIDNEY S. BROWNE, Chairman
JAMES M'CAFFERTY, Secretary.

(b) Extract from an editorial notice from the New Orleans (La.) *Commercial Bulletin,* March 16, 1836, regarding rates of subscription, advertisement, and job printing.

With the details we have just submitted to the public, we shall also give the prices fixed by the Journeymen Printers at their meeting on the 13th. of this month.

Compositors employed on the Morning Papers shall receive from 62½ cents to $1.25 per 1000 ems, instead of 50 cents hitherto received.

Workmen in a Job office, or office where pamphlets, books, cards, &c, &c, are printed, instead of $15.00, which was the price heretofore, now demand $19.00.

The public will preceive that if we have determined to adopt some small augmentation in our prices, the measure is forced upon us by the increase of journey-

men's wages imposed upon us by the Typographical Society of New Orleans.

Scale of Prices, of the New Orleans Typographical Association. Composition.

Compositors employed on morning Newspapers to work by the piece only, at the following rates; Plain matter in the English, French or Spanish languages, 62½ cents per thousand ems. for manuscript or printed copy; Pearl, 75 cents per 1000 ems; Ruby, 81¼ cents per 1000 ems; Diamond $1. per 1000 ems; Rule and Figure Work, $1. 25 cents per 1000 ems; Rule or Figure Work separately, 93¾ cents per 1000 ems. A foreman not to receive less than $25.00 per week.

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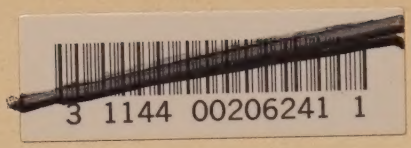
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